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No. 25

BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI

BY

R. D. BANERJI, M.A.



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## XXVII. Cave No. IV.

- (a-c) ceilings.



## BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI

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### INTRODUCTION.

**B**ĀDĀMI. Bātāpī or Bātāpīpura is the chief town of the Taluka of Badami in the district of Kaladgi, now known as Bijapur. in the south-eastern part of the Bombay Presidency. The Caves at Badami lie at a distance of three miles from the Station of the same name on the Hotgi-Gadag Section of the Madras and Southern Maratha Railway. The hill, in which they have been cut, is situated close to the modern town, or rather the modern town lies very close to the foot of the hill. In ancient times the town was enclosed by two walls and at least two different moats in front. while it was protected at the rear by the high hill, on the top of which the remains of two different forts are traceable even now. There is a bend in the first row of hills at the back of the modern town. in front of which a low broad dam was built centuries ago, forming a tank. The tank is now known as the Bhūtanātha Tank, and has steps on all four sides. Almost all of the mediæval shrines are built around this tank, there being at least one mediæval shrine on the western side *i.e.* on the dam of the tank. On the northern side, toward the north-east corner, there is a group of Śaiva temples called locally Bhūtanātha-Temple-group No. II. Similarly there is another group of Śaiva temples on the eastern bank *i.e.* close to the hill side, which is called Bhūtanātha-Temple-group No. I. Besides this group of temples there are two rock cut basreliefs on this side of the tank. These are (1) Nārāyaṇa on Śeṣha or Ananta which has been enclosed by a small mediæval temple at some later date and (2) an image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, which is now almost inaccessible. No steps are visible on a part of the southern bank of the tank. It is on this side that four caves have been cut in the rock. Access can be gained to these caves from a group of Muhammadan tombs built at the foot of the hills whence a flight of steps carries the visitor to the level of Cave No. I, which is the lowest in the group. The steps are continued in front of Cave No. II which is a Vaishṇava Cave, up to the enclosure outside Cave No. IV. Here the steps bifurcate: one series of steps to the right leading to the fort on the top of the southern hill and the second leading to the enclosure in front of Cave

No. IV through a gateway. This enclosure in front of Cave No. IV is also old as we find old Kanarese inscriptions on its walls. To the right of the steps leading to the fort on the top of the hill there is an unfinished cave containing a badly mutilated image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi. Beyond Cave No. IV the steps descend to the level of Cave No. V, which is a Jama cave. Although this does not contain any interesting basreliefs, it is full of images of Jaina Tirthaṅkaras of the Digambara sect, and we find an image of Gomateśvara on the left and that of Pārśvanātha on the right.

The date of the entire group of Caves is determined by the inscription of the western Chālukya king Maṅgalēśa dated Śaka 500=578 A.D. on a pillar in the verandah of Cave No. III, as well as by a Kanarese inscription of the same king on the rock wall outside Cave No. III. This inscription on the pillar was published for the first time by Prof. J. Eggeling in 1874. It records the excavation of the cave by Maṅgalēśa or Maṅgalīśvara in Śaka 500=578 A.D., and the gift of a village by him for maintaining the worship in the cave and giving relief to sixteen Brāhmaṇas<sup>1</sup>. It was re-edited by Dr. Fleet in Vol. VI of the same journal<sup>2</sup>. It is referred to once more in Vol. X when a better facsimile of the inscription itself was published. The short Kanarese inscription on the rock wall outside was published for the first time in 1881. It contains the name of Maṅgalēśa and his title Prithivīvallabha and contains an imprecation against those who are likely to injure "the gift that has been made at the rate of half a *visa* to the garland makers who work for the god Lāṅjigesara, which is the gift to the stone house of the glorious Maṅgalēśa, the favourite of the world."<sup>3</sup>

There are no inscriptions in any of the other three caves. Of these three the lowest cave or Cave No. I, which is a Śaiva cave, appears to be the oldest. Both of the Vaishṇava Caves are of the same date, i.e. belong to the sixth century A.D., but of these, Cave No. II is possibly earlier than Cave No. IV. Nothing can be said about the date of Cave No. V in which the ornamentations are very elementary. These caves were described in detail for the first time by the late Dr. James Burgess in his first report as Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of Bombay and entitled "Report of the First Season's Operations in the Belgam and Kaladgi Districts, January to May 1874." When describing these caves Dr. Burgess remarked that "The full delineation of these Badami Caves might be executed without much trouble by a few School of Arts Students under proper direction and if well done would form a valuable illustration of Vaishṇava mythology and Indian art only to be equalled by what Ajanta affords for Buddhism."<sup>4</sup> Two years later Dr. Burgess wrote an article on the sculptures in these Badami Caves in the *Indian Antiquary*.<sup>5</sup> This article was illustrated by a number of sketches all of which were from

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, 1874, pp. 305-06.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 263-64.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. X, pp. 58-60 and Plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. I: Report of the First Season's Operations in the Belgam and Kaladgi Districts, 1874*, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, 1877, pp. 354-66.

Cave No. IV. In this article Dr. Burgess mentions the existence of basreliefs in Cave No. II but he does not illustrate or try to explain any of them. The existence of basreliefs in Cave No. I is not mentioned by Dr. Burgess anywhere. Another short description of the Badami Caves appeared in 1880 in the *Cave Temples of India* by Fergusson and Burgess.<sup>1</sup>

### CAVE NO. I.

Access can be gained to Cave No. I by a short but steep flight of steps built by the Public Works Department. After their repair to the caves, a small platform was built in front of this cave by erecting a retaining wall in front of it. From this platform another short flight of steps, cut in the rock, leads to the level of the Cave proper. A small narrow platform runs along the front of it, which is L shaped. The longer limb of the L is occupied by the main cave and the small limb by a small shrine, a portion of which, to the right, has collapsed.

In front of this rockcut platform there is a panel on each side of the stairway containing dwarfs (*ganas*) in all sorts of positions. These figures have mostly become worn out by the action of weather. Thus, we have fourteen figures to the left of the steps, of which some are musicians, while others are singing and dancing. There are thirteen figures to the right of the steps and nine more under the small cave in the shorter limb of the L. At the end of this rock-cut platform we have a *dvārapāla* on the east or left side, who holds a trident (*Trisūla*) in his left hand, while the right is placed on his hip. He stands on a pedestal in front of which there is a small bas-relief representing an elephant fighting with a bull. Above the figure of the *dvārapāla* there is a small sunken panel containing figures of Śiva and Pārvatī seated on the back of Nandin, who is also seated. The shorter limb of the L is occupied by a small shrine of Durgā as *Mahishamarddīnī*. It rests on two pillars and two pilasters in front. To the right of this shrine there is still a smaller shrine the upper part of which has collapsed. This smaller shrine contains an image of *Natārāja* or *Nāṭesvara* representing Śiva dancing the *Tāṇḍava*. Śiva is represented with eighteen hands standing on a low pedestal with a border of lotus leaves. He holds an elephant skin in two of his hands. The remaining hands on the left side hold (1) a small drum (*ḍamaru*), (2) noose (*pāśa*), (3) Rosary (*akṣhasūtra*), (4) Indistinct object. The fifth hand is in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya mudrā*), while the sixth is broken. One hand is raised aloft and is being whirled in dancing, while the eighth is placed against the waist-band (*Kaṭi-vandha*). On the right side he holds (1) Skull cup, (*Kapāla*), (2) Lyre (*Vīṇā*), (3) *Trisūla*. One hand is in the *Tarjjanī mudrā* and another is being whirled to the left during the dance; the sixth is in the posture of blessing (*Varada mudrā*), while two more hands are placed close to the right thigh though not on it. The bull Nandin is to be seen standing behind the back

<sup>1</sup> The Cave Temples of India, by James Fergusson and James Burgess, London, 1880, pp. 404-16.



of the figure while Ganeśa with two hands is standing to the right. To the right of Ganeśa a male is seated on the ground playing on two drums. According to the Matsya *Purāṇa*, an image of Śiva dancing should have ten hands, but similar images with a larger number of hands are met with almost everywhere, specially in Bengal and Orissa. According to the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, this figure has sixteen hands but the number is distinctly eighteen on the stone. The implements held in the hands of Śiva have also been wrongly described by Mr. Gopinatha Rao. Thus he speaks of this figure as holding a *paraśu* and a snake-like object which we do not find in the bas-relief. He says: "Of these the first is the reproduction of a very well executed piece of sculpture to be found in the lower cave at Badami. In this the central figure of Śiva has sixteen arms in which are seen such objects as the *Sūla*, the *paraśu* and the snake. One left arm is in the *gajahasta* pose and the lowermost right hand is in the *chatura* pose, whereas the third from above is in the *añchita* pose." The *Vīṇa* (lyre) held in one of the right hands has been mistaken for the battle-axe (*paraśu*) and the rosary in the left hand for a snake. It should be noticed in this connection that none of the texts cited by Mr. Gopinatha Rao describe an image with sixteen or eighteen hands:— (1) The image mentioned in the *Amśubhedāgama* in the sixty-fifth *paṭala* has only six hands.<sup>2</sup> (2) Four arms are specified in the opening *śloka* of the quotation from the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama*.<sup>3</sup> (3) The objects held in the right hands are three, *i.e.* *abhaya-mudrā*, a snake and a *damaru*, according to the quotation from the *Suprabhedāgama*<sup>4</sup> and therefore the total number of hands in the form described here is six. (4) Four arms are also specified in the long quotation from the *Pūrva-Kāraṇāgama*.<sup>5</sup>

Below the shrine of the Mahishamarddinī there is a small panel containing a bas-relief representing ten dwarfs in different positions. Inside the temple there is a long narrow pedestal with a panel in relief also containing ten dwarfs standing in different attitudes against the back wall. On this pedestal is the image of Mahishamarddinī. The Goddess is standing with her right foot on the ground and the left placed over the head of the buffalo. She has four hands and holds a wheel and a trident in the left hands and a conch and the tail of the buffalo in her right hands. The lower end of the trident is shaped like a spear with which she pierces the body of the buffalo demon which is being bodily lifted up from the ground by its tail. There is a *gandharva* couple on each side of this image. On the southern or left wall of this shrine there is a pedestal with two dwarfs carved in relief on it, and on the wall space above is an image of Kārtikeya seated on a peacock, with one head and two hands, carved in relief against the wall. On the north or right wall there is a similar pedestal with two dwarfs on it, over which is a seated figure of Ganeśa holding a cup full of sweets (*modaka*) in his right hand.

<sup>2</sup> *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part II, pp. 267-68.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. II, part II, *Pratimā-lakṣhāṇam*, pp. 115-17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 117-18.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 124-25.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 125-28.

We now turn to the main cave. In the verandah there are four pillars in front with a pilaster at each end. Behind these pillars we have only two pillars and two pilasters. The side walls of this verandah are covered with basreliefs. Thus on the east or left wall we have a pedestal in front of which there are eight dwarfs in a sunken panel in various postures; some are dancing, some singing while some are playing on horns, conch-shells, drums, flutes and cymbals. Over this is a fine standing image of Harihara, a combination of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The Śiva side is indicated by the presence of a battleaxe with a snake in the hands of the God and the bull-headed attendant Nandin on its (proper) right side, standing with a trident. The Viṣṇu side of the figure is indicated by a conch in one of the (left) hands and a Garuḍa standing near his (left) leg, with his hands folded over his breast. There is a female standing on each side who are to be identified with Umā or Pārvatī on the (proper) right and Lakshmī on the left. The God himself stands in an easy posture on the pedestal. Half of his headdress consists of matted hair (*jaṭā*) with a crescent on it, while the other half is a jewelled crown (*mukuta*). There is a plain round halo behind his head and on the right half of his body there are ornaments made of snakes and skulls (*muṇḍamālā*) while the other half is decorated with jewelled ornaments. It has four hands, of which the lower right is broken while the lower left is placed on a knot of his upper garment. In the upper left he holds a conch-shell, while the upper right holds a battleaxe and a snake. Over his head there is a *gandharva* couple, on each side of the wall<sup>1</sup>. According to the *Tantrasāra*, Harihara holds a spear (*Śūla*), a wheel (*Chakra*) and the conch called *Pāñchajanya* in his hands, while the fourth is in the posture of giving protection. In the 61st chapter of the Vāmana Purāṇa this image has half of a third eye on the fore-head and holds a wheel (*chakra*), a sword (*asi*) two bows<sup>2</sup> (*Sārṅga* and *Pināka*) a spear (*śūla*), (?) (*kandarpa*),<sup>3</sup> a skull-mace (*khatvāṅga*), a skull-cup (*kapāla*), a conch (*śaṅkha*), a wheel (*chakra*), a lotus (*padma*) and a bell (*ghaṇṭā*). This refers to an image with twelve hands; But in the 4th chapter of the same work we find a description of another variety evidently with two hands which holds a spear (*śūla*) named *Mahāpāśupata* and a wheel. According to the Matsya Purāṇa, in an image of Harihara or Śivanārāyaṇa, Mādhava is to be placed on the left and the holder of the *Śūla* (Śiva) on the right. The arms of Kṛishṇa are to be decorated with jewels and *Keyūra* armlets and should hold a conch (*śaṅkha*) and a wheel (*chakra*). A mace (*gadā*) may be given in place of the wheel in the lower hand or the conch may be placed in the lower hand. The right half should have a mass of matted hair (*jaṭā-bhāra*) ornamented with the halfmoon (*ardhendū*). The bracelets and garlands should be made of snakes. The upper right hand should hold (a book of) the Vedas and the lower a trident (*triśūla*). The right half should be clothed

<sup>1</sup> This basrelief has been described by Mr. Gopinath Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part II, pp. 334-35, pl. xcix.

<sup>2</sup> Plough according to the text printed in Bombay.

<sup>3</sup> The Bombay text has *kapardā*.

in yellow and the left with a skin—cclx-22-27. The Badami basrelief corresponds to the description given in the 22nd *paṭala* of the *Śi'paratna* as quoted in Mr. Gopinatha Rao's work. "The right hand should be in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya*) and the left in the *Kaṭaka* pose attached to the thigh. There should be a battleaxe (*paraśu*) in the other right hand and a conch in the other left." So here in the case of the Badami basrelief the lower hand on the left (proper right) was in the *abhaya* posture, the upper one holding a *paraśu*. The lower right hand (proper left) is in the *Kaṭaka* posture and rests on the thigh, while the upper holds a conch.<sup>1</sup> Such images no doubt indicate a compromise between the devotees of the rival sect as stated by Mr. Gopinatha Rao in his work.

On the western or right wall we have an image of Arddhanārīśvara which is a combination of Śiva and Pārvatī, being half male and half female. This image also is standing on a pedestal in front of which there is a panel containing eight dwarfish figures in various attitudes. The Śiva side is towards the left or proper right and the Pārvatī side on the right. So on the left we find the front part of Śiva's vehicle the Bull and an emaciated human figure representing a ghoul (*preti*) or the Rishi Bhṛīngi. On the side of Pārvatī there is a female attendant standing with a tray in her right hand. The figure also has four hands, of which two hold a lyre (*vīṇā*). The remaining left hand holds a battleaxe and a snake and the remaining right hand a lotus.<sup>2</sup> The size of this basrelief is 7' 5" square.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* an image of Arddhanārīśvara ought to have "on the side of Śiva, matted hair with a crescent of the young moon and on the side of Umā, the *tilaka* mark and the parting line of the hair (*Śīmanta*). The snake (*Vāsukī*) in the right ear and an earring (*kuṇḍala*) in the left. An earring (*vālikā*)<sup>3</sup> in the upper part and a skull-cup (*kapāla*) in the right hand. A *triśūla* is also to be given to the holder of the *Śūla*, the God of gods. A mirror (*darpaṇa*) is to be given in the left hand on the left specially a lotus (*utpala*) (is to be placed)—260th *Adhyāya*.<sup>4</sup>

There are two different accounts of the origin of the Arddhanārīśvara form, both of which have been quoted by Mr. Gopinatha Rao in his work. The first of these is taken from the Śiva Purāṇa according to which "Brahmā first begot a number of male beings, the Prajāpatis, and commanded them to create various other beings. They were found later on to be unfit for the task for which they were intended and Brahmā feeling uneasy at the slow progress of creation meditated on Maheśvara. The latter appeared before him in the composite form of a male and a female and asked him to cease feeling distressed. Thitherto it had not occurred to Brahmā to create a female also, and at the sight of this composite form of Maheśvara he realised his

<sup>1</sup> *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part II, *Pratimā-lakṣaṇāni*, pp. 169-70.

<sup>2</sup> This basrelief also has been described by Mr. Gopinatha Rao in this *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 327-38.

<sup>3</sup> From the Tamil word (*vāḷi*) according to Mr. Gopinatha Rao. *Ibid*, p. 325 note.

<sup>4</sup> *Matsya-purāṇa*, *Ānandāśrama series*, Poona, Śaka 1829. 1907 A.D., p. 352.

error; thereupon he prayed to the female half of Maheśvara to give him a female to proceed with the act of creation: Brahmā's request was complied with and the creation went on afterwards very well" ..... "On a certain occasion when Śiva was seated with his consort Pārvatī on the top of the Kailāsa mountain, the devas and *rishis* went there to pay their homage to him. All of them except the *rishi* Bhṛīṅgi went round both Śiva and Pārvatī in their circumambulations and bowed to both. This *rishi* had a vow of worshipping only one being, that is Śiva; and in conformity with this vow he neglected to go round or bow down to Pārvatī, Pārvatī, growing angry with Bhṛīṅgi, desired in her mind that all his flesh and blood should disappear from his body, and instantly he was reduced to a skeleton covered over with only the skin. In this state he was unable to support himself in an erect position. Seeing his pitiable plight, Śiva gave him a third leg so as to enable him to attain equilibrium. Bhṛīṅgi became pleased with his Lord and out of joy danced vigorously with his three legs and praised Śiva for his grace. The design of Pārvatī to humble Bhṛīṅgi thus failed and the failure caused great annoyance to Pārvatī who returned to do penance for obtaining a boon from Śiva. At the end of the penance, Śiva, pleased with his consort, granted her wish of being united with his own body. Thus was the Arddhanārīśvara form assumed by Śiva for offering difficulty to the *rishi* Bhṛīṅgi in circumambulating or bowing to Śiva alone. But, undaunted by this impediment, Bhṛīṅgi assumed the form of a beetle, pierced a hole through the composite body of Śiva, and circumambulated Śiva alone, to the great wonder and admiration even of Pārvatī who became reconciled to his vow and bestowed her grace upon this pious *rishi* for his steadfastness to his vow".<sup>2</sup> Both legends indicate that, like the image of Harihara, the Arddhanārīśvara image also is a device to bring about a compromise between the devotees of Śiva and of Śakti. According to the *Aṃśubhedāgama*, 69th *paṭala*, Arddhanārīśvara images can have two or four hands. None of the extracts quoted by Mr. Gopinatha Rao mention the lyre (*vīṇā*) which we find in the Badami basrelief, though many mention the battle-axe and the lotus.

The pillars in front of this cave are square in section with an attenuation near the top where they are sixteen-sided. Over this attenuated portion there is a round sunken panel on each face containing geese, makara, flowers, lions playing with *gaṇas*, a *gaṇa* male and female, a *gaṇa* fighting with an elephant or with a fish, dolphins, sharks, etc. Over this portion of the shaft of the pillar there is a capital with two side arms only. On both the front and the back of each capital there is a small rectangular sunken panel containing bas-reliefs. Beginning from the left or the east end, we have on the front of the pilaster a male and a female seated on a cushion, and at the back a male and a female seated on separate seats. In front of the first pillar on the left we find Viṣṇu seated on Ananta in the sea of milk, which is full of lotus

<sup>1</sup> *Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, part I, pp. 321-22*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 322-23.

flowers. He holds a wheel (*chakra*) in his upper left, a conch (*śaṅkha*) in his upper right, and a round object in his lower left, while the lower right hand is placed against his right thigh. A god stands with hands clasped in adoration on the left and a *rishi* on the right. On the back of the capital we find Śiva seated on Kailāsa on the back of his bull. One attendant is standing on the left with his chin resting on a stick while another is sitting holding Śiva's left foot. To Śiva's right Pārvatī is seated on a separate seat. The head of a bearded *rishi* appears between Śiva and Pārvatī. A female attendant is standing to the right of Pārvatī, while another is seated holding her right foot. On the front of the second pillar we see a male and a female kissing. A female attendant is standing on each side, who have modestly averted their faces. The attendant on the right holds a vase. On the back we have Vishnu seated in Vaikuṇṭha, with a wheel and an indistinct object in his left hand, while he holds a conch in the upper right. Lakshmī is seated on a lower seat to his left and Garuḍa (?) on his right. A *gaṇa* is flying on each side of the head of the main figure. On the front of the third pillar we find a male and a female seated side by side on a cushion with a female attendant on each side holding something like a thunderbolt (*Vajra*). At the back we have Śrī seated on a lotus, with a *gaṇa* standing on each side. An elephant standing over each *gaṇa* is pouring water over the head of the goddess from a jar held in its trunk. In front of the fourth or last pillar we have a male seated on a cushion on the left offering a cup to a female seated on another cushion on his right. A female attendant stands with a jar or flagon on the left of the male, while another female attendant stands to the right of the female with a large fan. In front of the pilaster on the west or right we have a male and female in an amorous posture. A similar pair is to be found at the back but their posture is more decent. There are similar basreliefs on the capitals of the two pillars in the rear of the veranda, as well as on the pillars of the *maṇḍapa*. The four panels on the front and back of the two pillars in the rear of the veranda each contain an amorous couple.

There are eight pillars in two rows in the *maṇḍapa* and these are similar to the pillars in front of the veranda. Beginning from the left of the first row we find in front a male and a female seated side by side, with a female attendant standing on the left with a jar in her hands. At the back we find a male and a female locked in close embrace and a female attendant on the left standing with a vase, who has averted her face in shame. We find a male and a female seated side by side in front of pillar No. 2 with a dwarfish attendant on the right. At the back of this pillar we find two naked devotees worshipping a *liṅga*, one by pouring water over it and the other throwing(?) flowers. The panel in front of the third pillar from the left contains a figure of Nara-siṃha seated, with a wheel in the upper left and a conch in the upper right. He holds his girdle in the lower left, while the remaining right hand rests on his thigh. A dwarf stands on each side. The panel, behind, contains a male and a female seated side by side, the male offering a cup to the latter. The

panel, on the last or fourth pillar in the front row, contains figures of Śiva and Pārvatī seated in different amorous postures in Kailāsa. In the second row the basreliefs on the first pillar from the left represent amorous couples in different attitudes seated in a grove. On the second pillar in front the pairs are seated side by side in a grove. At the back we have an image of Ganeśa seated with four hands holding a trident (*triśūla*), rosary (*akṣhaśūtra*), sweets (*modaka*) and battleaxe (*paraśu*), in his hands. The two medallions on the shafts of the pillar below these two basreliefs represent amorous couples, the one in the rear being very indecent. In the panel in front of the third pillar we find a male and a female seated side by side under a canopy; the one at the back containing two dwarfs dancing. On the front panel, on the last pillar, we have a male on the right and a female on the left seated under a canopy. At the back we see a female shampooing the feet of a male seated to her left. There are four basreliefs on pilasters in the back wall of the *maṇḍapa*. Of these, three panels contain amorous couples in different postures, while the panels on the pilaster on each side of the door of the sanctum contain seated figures of *Śiva-gaṇas*.

On the inner side of each lintel supported by the pillars and pilasters on the front of the verandah there is a basrelief. These basreliefs do not appear to have been noticed by anybody else. Beginning from the west or right end we find that there are eight basreliefs in all. The basrelief on the inner side of the first lintel on the west is the largest and most elaborate. It consists of two different parts which are divided by a partition. The first part is very small and consists of about one quarter of the entire composition. Beginning from the left there is a female standing with both hands raised aloft, to the right of whom is a dwarf with an umbrella proceeding towards the left. To the right of this group we find a man standing in a lotus pond near some rocks. Standing in front of him is a female who is dragging him out towards her. The exact meaning of this portion of the basrelief has become clear from the account of Śiva's marriage in the *Varāha-purāṇa*. Śiva wanted to test the steadfastness of Pārvatī and "assuming the form of an old, decrepit Brāhmaṇa approached Pārvatī, who was absorbed in her austerities, and begged to be supplied with food as he was feeling very hungry. Pārvatī was pleased to ask him to finish his bath and other ablutions and come for meals. The old man went to the river very near the hermitage of Pārvatī and as soon as he got down into the water contrived to be caught by a crocodile. He called out to Pārvatī to help. Pārvatī came to the river side, but she could not stretch out her arm which was never meant to be held by others than that of her lord, Śiva, even in helping others. Perplexed with this feeling she was standing still for some moments, but the danger of the guest being swallowed by the crocodile very soon became patent to her and she was obliged to give up her vow of not being touched by a hand other than that of Śiva; she stretched out her arm and took hold of that of the old *Brāhmaṇa* and pulled him out of the water, and the crocodile also left him. Pleased with Pārvatī Śiva showed his real self to her and she was immensely gratified with her

lord for having saved her from being held up to the obloquy for having caught hold of a hand other than that of Śiva. She dedicated herself to Śiva and the regular marriage was celebrated later on."<sup>1</sup> In the basrelief the female on the extreme left is Pārvatī performing *tapas* as an *ūrdha-bāhu*, i.e., with both hands lifted up. The dwarfish figure to her right is Śiva in the guise of an old Brāhmaṇa begging food from her. The umbrella in the hand of this figure is inexplicable. Dwarfs with umbrellas indicate the dwarf (*Vāmana*) incarnation of Viṣṇu, and this particular basrelief can have no connection with the dwarf incarnation, as the rest of it has been correctly identified as a representation of the marriage of Śiva. The same incident has been represented in the Rāmeśvara cave temple at Ellora, which has been identified by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao:<sup>2</sup> but in this basrelief the figure of Śiva is neither dwarfish nor does it hold an umbrella. The group to the right of this represents Pārvatī drawing the old Brāhmaṇa out of the water. The river is indicated by wavy lines and there are lotus flowers and lotus leaves in it as in the Ellora basrelief. The figure of the crocodile is to be seen in the corner but is hardly legible without a strong light.

The second part of the basrelief represents the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī the daughter of Himālaya. Beginning from the left, we find three bearded Rishis, with matted hair piled high on their heads, on the extreme left. They hold long necked bottles with short spouts which are evidently *Kamaṇḍalus*. These Rishis are proceeding towards the right. In front of them there are three males, the last of whom has a *Sūrpa* in his hands and is therefore Brahmā. In front of these six figures a four-headed figure is kneeling towards the right and is throwing something on an altar. This is Brahmā performing the *Homa* sacrifice for the marriage. The fire on the altar is represented by a conical mound and Brahmā holds a sacrificial ladle (*Sūrpa*) in his hand from which he is evidently pouring a libation of clarified butter on the fire. To the right of the altar we find Śiva standing with four hands holding the hand of Pārvatī who stands on his proper left. A figure standing between them, who is pouring water from a *kamaṇḍalu* on their joined hands, represents Himālaya, the father of Pārvatī. This part represents the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī. To the right of this group we find Viṣṇu, standing with four hands, holding a wheel and a mace in the right hands and a conch in the upper left. To his right is Indra standing with a thunder-bolt (*cajra*) in his right hand. Another figure appears by the side of Indra, while to the right of this group four bearded rishis are standing with long necked *Kamaṇḍalus* in their hands. This is the only basrelief in this cave which can not be properly explained. The composition of the scene differs from the description given in the *Uttara-Kāmik-āgama*, *Śilparatna*, *Pūrva-kāraṇāgama* and the *Amśubhedāgama*. "In the composition of the scene of the marriage of Pārvatī with Śiva there should be Śiva and Pārvatī forming the central figures facing the east. Viṣṇu and his con-

<sup>1</sup> *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 337-38; *Varāha-purāṇa* ed. Pañchānana Tarkaratna Calcutta, B. S. 1313, pp. 82-83, chapter 22nd.

<sup>2</sup> *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pl. cv.

sorts Lakshmī and Bhūmi as the givers—acting the parts of the parents in a *brāhmaṇa* marriage—of the bride should be there; of these Lakshmī and Bhūmi should be standing behind the back of the bride, touching her at the waist indicative of handing her over to her lord; and Viṣṇu should be standing in the back-ground, between Śiva and Pārvatī with a golden pot of water ready to pour it in the ceremony of giving the bride to the bridegroom; then, there should be Brahmā in the foreground, seated and performing the ceremony of *homa* or making offerings to the fire. In the back-ground and at various distances should be seen the eight *Vidyēśvaras* (or the lords of learning), *Aṣṭa-dīkṣālakas* (or the guardians of the eight quarters), *Siddhas* (persons who have attained the eight great powers), *Yakshas* (Semi-devine beings), *ṛishis* (Sages), *Gandharvas* (another class of semi-divine beings), the *Mātrikās* (or the seven mothers) and a host of other gods, with their respective goddesses, all of them standing with arms folded in the *añjali* pose, and with the feelings of pleasure, happiness and wonder portrayed in their faces”. Such are the details of the general composition of this remarkable scene and the individual figures are described in the detail as follows:—

“ Śiva should be sculptured as standing firmly on the left leg and with the right one resting upon the ground somewhat bent; or, the left leg may be represented as slightly bent and the right straight and standing firmly on the ground. The front right arm should be stretched out to receive the right arm of the bride, Pārvatī; the front left hand should be held in the *varada* pose. In the back right hand there should be the *paraśu* and in the back left one the *mṛiga*. There should be three bends in the body of Śiva, that is, it should be of the *tribhaṅga* posture. The head of Śiva should be adorned with a *jaṭāmakuṭa* with the crescent moon tucked up in it, and all other parts of the body, with their appropriate ornaments such as the *hāra*, the *keyūra*, the *udarabandha* and the waist zone. The snake Vāsuki should serve Śiva, as the *Sarpakundala*, Takshaka as the waist band and Pushkara as the *hāra*. The figure of Śiva should be that of a young man who has just come of age. His colour should be red. As usual Śiva should have three eyes.

“ To the left of the figure of Śiva should be standing that of Pārvatī, of dark complexion, with her right arm stretched out to receive that of Śiva in the act of *pāṇigrahaṇa* (the ceremony of taking hold of hands) and with her left hand holding a *nīlotpala*. Her head should be slightly bent down in shyness and her person should be adorned with all ornaments appropriate for the occasion. The figure of Pārvatī should be as high as the eye, the chin, the shoulder or the chest of Śiva and she should be represented as a well developed youthful maiden, with two eyes and two arms and draped in silk garments.

“ In front of Śiva and seated on the ground should be the figure of Brahmā doing *homa* or making offerings to the fire. The figure of Brahmā should be as high as the chest of Śiva. The *Pūrva-kāraṇāgama* gives numerical proportions for the height of the figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu. It is therein stated that the height of Viṣṇu might be seven-twelfths, eleven-twelfths,



three-fourths or two-thirds of the height of Śiva, and that the height of Brahmā either equal to or one-sixth, one-seventh or one-eighth less than that of Viṣṇu.

“ Brahmā must be seated upon a *padmāsana* facing the north, with, in front of him, a *kunḍa* in which the fire is burning with tapering flames. As usual he should be represented with four faces, four arms and as being busy with the performance of the *homa* ceremony. He should be adorned with a *jaṭā-makuta* and the body with a *yajñopavīta*, a girdle made of *muñja* grass, and all other ornaments; he should wear an upper cloth. In his front right and left hands he should hold the *śruva* and *śruk* respectively, and in the back right and left hands there should be the *akṣhamālā* and the *kamaṇḍalu* respectively. The colour of Brahmā should be red like the fire.

“ The size of the sacrificial *kunḍa* is then given as follows; the *kunḍa* should have three *mekhalās* (broad ties going round the central pit in which the fire is kindled) each of twelve *aṅgulas* in width, the extreme length of the whole *kunḍa* including the *mekhalās* being 22 *aṅgulas*. In the pit of the *kunḍa* the fire should be shown as possessing seven or five *jvālas* or tongues of flame which ought to be a fourth of the height of Brahmā; and the breadth of the flames of fire must be half their height. The *aṅgula* mentioned here is the *deha-labdha-aṅgula* of the central figure of Śiva.”<sup>1</sup>

The most elaborate representation of the marriage of Śiva are to be found in the basrelief in the Dhūmas and Rāmeśvara Caves at Ellora: a photograph of the latter has been published by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in his work, and in Cave No. I at Elephanta. In all of these caves the procession of Ṛishis is omitted. A very long procession of gods and semi-divine beings, accompanying Śiva to the abode of Himālaya, is to be found on the lintel of the *torana* of a temple of Śiva erected by King Yuvarājadeva I of the Kalachuri-Chēdī dynasty of Dāhala at Gurgi in the Rewa State. This *torana* has been removed from the ruins of the temple and re-erected in front of the palace of the Mahārāja in Rewa Town. The upper lintel of this *torana* bears a basrelief on both sides. On one side we find a long procession of gods with Śiva in the centre going to the house of Himālaya. In front of Śiva we find Agni, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Yama, Budha, Indra and Brahmā while behind him come Viṣṇu, eight Ṛishis and the nine planets. On the opposite side the basrelief is divided into the three parts. The first part shows Śiva arriving at the house of Himālaya and descending from the bull. In the second part we see the actual marriage, Śiva and Pārvatī standing side by side with Brahmā as the priest. In the third part we see Śiva and Pārvatī going to Kailāsa on the back of the bull Nandin, preceded by the Ṛishis and followed by musicians.<sup>2</sup>

The second basrelief consists of nine pairs of human figures in various amorous attitudes. Out of these nine pairs three in the centre are seated while three pairs are standing on each side of this central group.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 338-42.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, for the year ending with 31st March 1921*, pp. 78-80, pl. XVIII.

The third basrelief consists of a band of eighteen *gaṇas* dancing, running and disporting themselves in various ways. The fourth basrelief is divided into four compartments by means of three raised bands. The compartments at each end are smaller in size than the two in the centre and these contain two standing *gaṇas* or dwarfs. The central compartments contain a male and a female, seated side by side and attended by two females, one on each side. In the compartment on the right we have a female attendant behind and a dwarfish male attendant in front. The last lintel is blank and does not bear any basrelief. There are three basreliefs on the three lintels supported by the two pillars and two pilasters in the rear of the verandah. On the lintel on the extreme left there is a shrine with seven openings, all empty. Over the central one is a *chaitya-window* with a round medallion containing a god standing with four hands (Vishṇu). The central lintel bears the representation of a temple with nine openings. A *liṅga* is seen in the centre and a female and lion in the openings on each side. A temple similar to that on the lintel on the left is to be seen on the right with Ganeśa inside the medallion. The imitation beams supporting the roof are supported by brackets shaped as griffins and *gaṇas* issuing from the mouths of *Kīrtimukhas*. The ceiling of the verandah is divided by three such beams into five compartments. In the central one is a fine image of a Nāga in relief. On the two side spaces we have a *gandharva*-pair flying through the air.

## CAVE NO. II.

From Cave No. I. a series of sixty-four steps, partly cut in the rock and partly artificial, lead to Cave No. II. This cave is Vaishṇava and evidently contained an image of Viṣṇu. Four modern steps lead to a small narrow rock-cut platform in front of the cave similar to the one in front of Cave No. I: the only exception being that this platform is perfectly straight and not L-shaped as in Cave No. I.

Under this rock-cut platform there is a long sunken panel containing a frieze of dwarfs (*Gaṇas*). From the left or the east we have one running to the right or to the west. Following him is another walking fast in the same direction. The third dwarf is standing with a round object in his hand, which is illegible at present. To his right are three more who are evidently singing, as the first of them holds his left hand aloft and the right near his breast. The second one has his left hand near his left ear, a position affected even now by Indian singers, while the third has his right hand near his right ear. The seventh figure is dancing with one hand held aloft and the eighth is singing with his right hand in the same posture as number six. Following him are three more, who are dancing. The twelfth figure is running to the left while balancing a vase on his left elbow. The remaining three figures in this panel are dancing. At this place, the steps leading to the top of the platform intervene and after it there is a second panel containing fifteen similar figures. The first two are dancing, the third is standing with a vase in his left hand and a rod in his right hand. The fourth is playing on a horn while the fifth is walking to the right. The sixth is singing with both hands raised, while the following two are dancing. The ninth is holding a vase in both of his hands and the tenth is dancing and singing at the same time. The opened mouth shows that he is singing as well as dancing. The eleventh figure holds a round object in his left hand and a rod in his right hand, while the twelfth is seated on the ground playing on a drum. The thirteenth is playing on a lyre (*vīṇā*), while walking to the left. The remaining two figures in this panel are also dancing.

There is a plain, low curved roof or cornice over this platform and inside this roof we have imitation beams and imitation frame-work to support it as we find in the Cave Temples at Karla and Bhaja. Stone brackets shaped as lions rampant and dwarfs (*gaṇas*) support this roof. There is a basrelief at each end of this verandah. At the east or left end we have four *gaṇas* on a low pedestal, of which three are dancing, while the fourth is turning a somersault. Over this pedestal there is a figure of a *dvārapāla* standing, with two hands, holding a small round object in his left hand, while the right is placed on a knot of his garment. He is dressed in a loin-cloth bound by a ribbon as well as a metal belt with a clasp in front, and wears a number of ornaments and a crown. A female attendant holding a flower in one hand

stands on his left. There is a similar figure at the western or right end of the platform. Here also we have figures of four *gaṇas* on the pedestal, in the centre of which is seated a snake. The first *gaṇa* is dancing, while the second holds a dagger and a rope. The third is turning a somersault, while the fourth is turning to the right with a shield and a sword in his hands.

The verandah in front of the cave is supported by four pillars and two pilasters. The lower part of these pillars and pilasters are perfectly plain and square in section. More than half way up ornaments begin. Near the bottom this ornamentation consists of one or two *kīrttimukhas* from the mouths of which garlands are hanging. There is a lotus between each pair of *kīrttimukhas* or half *kīrttimukhas* from the calyx of which garlands are issuing. Over this portion a small part of the shaft is sixteen-sided and over this again it is square in section. In this portion there is a square panel on each face, containing a circle, the interspaces being filled with arabesque work. Thus on the pilaster at the extreme left we have a parrot, the lower part of the body of which is lost amidst masses of arabesque work. On the pilaster on the east there are three medallions. In front the medallion is covered by the bracket supporting the sloping cornice. On the east face we have a parrot and at the back a mass of beautiful arabesque work. On the first pillar from the left we have an elephant-headed *makara*, the lower part of whose body is a mass of arabesque work. On the western face we have a horse running to the left, the lower part of whose body is also lost amidst a mass of arabesque work. On the second pillar there are also two medallions where we have a *Kinnara* and a *Kinnarī* in the east and a *makara* with an elephant's head on the west. So also on the third pillar we have two boars on the eastern face and a *makara* in front as well as on the western face. On the fourth pillar we have a goose on the east and a dolphin on the west. On the western pilaster we have a *makara* on the eastern face. There is a small rectangular panel on the inner side of each of the capitals of the pillars and pilasters of this verandah. Beginning from the east or the left end, on the top of the pilaster towards outside, we have a female seated with a flower in her hands and inside a male and a female seated on a bedstead. In the absence of emblems this particular group cannot be identified. On the inside of the first pillar from the east, we find another pair seated on a bedstead. On the left a female is standing with a round object placed on a platter held in both hands. On the right side there are two female attendants, the first one of which is playing on a lyre (*vīṇā*). To her right another female is standing with a fly-whisk in her hands. This may be intended to represent Vishnu and Lakshmī in Vaikuṇṭha, while the female with the lyre is Sarasvatī the co-wife of Lakshmī. On the second pillar from the east we find Siva and Pārvatī(?) seated on Kailāsa(?) with a female attendant standing on each side. The third pillar from the east has a longer basrelief, probably representing Kāma, the god of love. Here we find a female standing under a tree holding the lower garment of a male, who holds the branch of a bough over the head of the female with his right hand and with his left is drawing an arrow from a quiver

which is held by a monkey-faced attendant. To his left two females are standing with the small monkey-faced dwarf in front of them. Behind the tree another female is standing, clasping the trunk of the tree.<sup>1</sup> The fourth pillar from the east contains a basrelief representing Śrī, the goddess of fortune. The Goddess has four hands and is seated on a lotus. Two elephants are pouring water over her head from jars held in their trunks. The bust of another elephant appears behind each of them. On the pilaster on the extreme west in front of the verandah, we have Vishṇu seated under a serpent-canopy. He has four hands, of which the upper left holds a wheel and the upper right a conch, the objects held in the lower hands being indistinct.

The shafts of the eight pillars of the *Maṇḍapa* bear on the eastern and western faces of their capitals one sunken panel each containing a basrelief. Most of these basreliefs represent a male and a female seated in different attitudes with one or more attendants. In one case only, on the western face of the first pillar from the left, in the second row, we find two flying figures fighting.

There are two large basreliefs or images in the verandah of this cave, one on each of the side walls. The basrelief on the west or right wall represents the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu. The figure of the God stands on a broad pedestal, in front of which is a sunken panel, containing eight dwarfs in various attitudes. The God stands in the position of an archer technically known in Sanskrit as *pratyālīḍha* and has four hands. One of the left hands holds a wheel and one of the right hands a conch. The other right hand holds a lotus on which the Earth Goddess is standing, leaning on the snout of the Boar. The lower left hand of the God rests on a knot of clothing on his left thigh. The head of the God is that of a boar with a long snout and one tusk. Over the single ear represented is a jewelled crown. Two pairs of *gandharvas* and busts of two human beings appear over the Boar's head. The right foot, (proper left) of the God, which is bent forward, rests on a lotus and near this lotus are a Nāga couple, evidently Vāsuki and his consort.

The Boar incarnation of Vishṇu is described at length in the third *skandha* of the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa*, and in the 247 and 248th chapter of the Matsya *Purāṇa*. After the deluge, Brahmā was thinking of the universe created by him that had been deluged with water and had sunk to the nether regions. At that time a small boar issued from his nostrils measuring one finger (III. xiii. 16-18). Immediately afterwards, this little boar became as big as an elephant (19). After the gods had prayed to this boar, it entered into the waters of the deluge (25). Before entering, the boar threw its tail upwards and leaped into the air. That boar leaped into the waters of the sea and reached the nether regions (*rasātala*) and found the earth (*Prithvī*) (28-29). It then held the earth in its tusks and raised it within a moment (30). Afterwards it destroyed the Daitya Hiraṇyāksha, inside the water. That Daitya was trying to prevent it from lifting the earth, by raising his mace, but the God killed him with as much

<sup>1</sup> Please see description of Kṣma on the bracket in Cave No. IV, page 34 below.

ease as a lion kills an elephant. When Brahmā and other Munis were praising him, the boar placed the earth on the water, which was partly covered by his hoofs and having done so disappeared (46). In the Matsya *Purāṇa* it is stated that on account of the weight of various hills, the earth being unable to support the heavy weight, sank into the waters (ccxlviii. 6-9). Then Viṣṇu decided to lift it up and after being praised by the Earth Goddess, (12-53) decided to assume the form of a boar (62-66). He raised the Earth, which had sunk as far as the nether regions, with his tusks (74).

On the opposite side of the wall *i.e.* on the right or western wall, the corresponding space is occupied by a huge basrelief, representing another incarnation of Viṣṇu, which is the Dwarf or *Vāmana* incarnation. The story is told at length in most of the *Purāṇas* specially the Bhāgavata and Matsya *Purāṇas*. Bali, the king of the Asuras, who was the grandson of Prahlāda, a famous devotee of Viṣṇu, performed the sacrifice called Viśvajit, described in the Vahvricha Brāhmaṇa, with the aid of the Brāhmaṇas of the Bṛigu family, (Bhāgavata *Purāṇa* VIII. xv. 3). From that sacrificial fire rose a chariot with green horses like those of Indra, a standard with a lion on it, a fine bow with two quivers full of arrows and armour (4-5). Bali having obtained these, his grand-father Prahlāda gave him an ever-bright garland and his spiritual adviser Śukrāchārya a conch shell. Having obtained these accoutrements, Bali led his army towards the city of Indra and invested it. Indra, being unable to withstand the onslaught of the Asura army, asked his spiritual adviser Bṛhaspati, of the cause of the sudden increase of the Asura power (23-25). Having learnt from him that this power was received from the Brāhmaṇas of the Bṛigu family (26), the gods left Heaven in disguise according to Bṛhaspati's advice (27-29). Aditi, the mother of the gods, felt the absence of her sons very much and one day, when her husband Kāśyapa returned home from his meditations, he found his wife very much dejected (VIII. xvi. 1-2). Aditi told him of the defeat of her sons and their expulsion from Heaven by the sons of her co-wife Diti (13). After being exhorted by his wife, Kāśyapa told her about a particular vow, of which he had heard from Viṣṇu himself (18), which should be performed on twelve consecutive days in the bright half of the month of Phālguna (19). Aditi performed this vow (*vrata*), equal to *Payovrata*, whereupon Viṣṇu appeared to her (VIII. xvii. 1) and told her that in order to protect her children he himself intended to appear on the earth once more and be born as her son (13). The God was born as Aditi's son on the twelfth day of the bright half of Bhādra, called the *Śrāvaṇa-dvādaśī* (VIII. xviii. 5). After being invested with the sacred thread the boy performed the *Homa* sacrifice (13). Then he heard that Bali was performing many horse-sacrifices according to the schemes of the Brāhmaṇas of Bṛigu's race and went to the place of that sacrifice (14). After being received by Bali with all due honour (20-21), he was asked by the former to accept some gift (24). The dwarf then asked Bali to give him three steps of earth, measured with his own step. Bali agreed to give him land measuring three steps and laughing, took up a vessel of water. At this time the spiritual adviser of the Daityas

Śukrāchārya, having learnt the wish of Viṣṇu, told his disciple Bali in anger. "O son of Vairochana, this is nobody else but Viṣṇu himself, who has taken birth in the womb of Aditi, to serve the Gods (VIII. xix. 23). You have done wrong by promising to give him land. This (promise) will cause great injury to the Daityas (24). O King, he will take your place, riches, valour, fame and knowledge and having taken away everything, will give them to Indra. He is not a man but the Lord Hari himself, who has taken the form of a dwarf by witchcraft (25). It is true that you have promised to give him only three steps of land, but in three steps he will cover the entire universe (26)." After hearing Śukrāchārya's speech Bali remained quiet for some time and then said to him: "I am the grandson of Prahlāda. How shall I withdraw from my promise? (VIII. xx. 3). Therefore whoever this Brāhmaṇa be, whether he be Viṣṇu or my enemy, I shall give the promised land to him." Then Śukrāchārya cursed him in anger, but Bali did not deviate from his promise and gave the promised land to the dwarf. Vindhyāvalī, the wife of Bali, brought a vessel full of water to Bali, with which the King washed the feet of the dwarf and held the water on his head and told the dwarf to take whatever he wanted, (12-14). Then the dwarf began to increase suddenly in size and grew to a great height, on seeing which Bali lost consciousness.

The basrelief is therefore divisible into two portions. The first portion is in the lower right corner, where we see the dwarf with an umbrella in his right hand, facing the left. In front of him is a man with a vessel of water in his hands. This is Bali, behind whom stands his wife Vindhyāvalī. Behind the group of these three we find four crowned figures, who are most probably the Daitya elders. The second portion of the basrelief represents the transformed figure of the Dwarf with his left foot covering the earth and the right stretched upwards to cover the heaven. He has eight hands and holds the *Sudarśana* wheel, the sword called *Vidyādhara*, the mace called *Kaumodakī* and an arrow in his (proper) right hands. According to the *Vaikhanaśāgama*, quoted by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, an image of Trivikrama with eight hands ought to have a wheel, conch, the Śārṅga bow and a plough (*chakra śaṅkha-śārṅga-hala-dharam*) in the right hands.<sup>1</sup> In his left hands he holds the bow called *Śārṅgadhanu*, and the conch-shell, while one hand points towards Rāhu, (23-24). A crowned figure is seated on the ground and is clasping the left leg of Trivikrama with both of his hands, while behind him is a man with a sword attacking the God.

It is then stated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that the *Virāṭa-puruṣa* covered the earth with one step and the heavens with the second. Then no space remained for the third step (27). The Asuras seeing the entire property of their master, Bali, being taken away, became very angry and decided to kill him. They took up their weapons and rushed at the figure, though Bali did not wish them to do so. Seeing them coming, the attendants of Viṣṇu laughed, took up their weapons and started fighting. When Bali saw the attendants

<sup>1</sup> *Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Appendix C., p. 38.*

of Vishṇu killing his people, he asked them to desist, (VIII. xxi. 7-9). The swordsman standing behind the figure who is clasping Vishṇu's leg, and two other figures near the top of the wall, represent the Asuras. The head of Rāhu indicates his presence which is confirmed by his mention by Bali when he cries out, "O Viprachitti, O Rāhu, O Nemi, listen to me, do not fight any longer, be quiet because this moment is not favourable towards us" (10). The defeat of Bali's people is indicated by the figure of a man hurtling down from the skies. His figure is to be seen just behind the head of Rāhu and he holds a sword and a shield. The rest of the story of Bali is narrated in the 21st chapter of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This portion of the story, though not depicted in this cave, is to be found in Cave No. IV. Practically the same story is found in the 245th and 246th chapters of the *Matsya Purāṇa*. One fact or rather one figure is noticeable in the basrelief namely the figure of Bali. Bali is depicted in the same manner in which a Buddhist artist would have depicted Gautama Buddha. This fact and this figure become more prominent in the basrelief in Cave No. IV where we find the same subject.

We now come to the basreliefs on the lintels supported by the pillars and pilasters of this verandah. These lintels are ten in number of which five are supported by the four pillars and two pilasters in front of the verandah and the remaining five are supported by the two pillars and four pilasters in the rear. They are almost equal in size, measuring 4' 11" in length and about 11" in height. The face of each lintel has been converted into a sunken panel with a pilaster on each side and a moulding on the top, the bottom being covered with a row of lotus petals. The subjects have been taken from the *Purāṇas*. The basreliefs on the lintels at the back represent the churning of the ocean by the gods and the killing of the Buffalo Demon, while those in front represent the early life of Kṛishṇa from his birth to the death of his uncle Kamsa. The representation of the churning of the ocean occupies four panels, while the killing of the Buffalo Demon occupies one. Unfortunately the artist did not arrange them in the proper order or sequence. Consequently the visitor finds it extremely trying to identify any of the scenes or to connect any one of them with another bearing the succeeding scenes. So far as my knowledge goes these basreliefs have not been described by Dr. Burgess or any one else up to the present day.<sup>1</sup>

The churning of the ocean has been described at length in the 8th *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the 249th, 250th and 251st chapters of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, and very shortly in the *Āstika Parvādhāya* of the *Ādi Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*. The narrative as given in the 8th *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is as follows:—

The gods, who were killed in the fight with the Dānavas, were not resuscitated and therefore their numbers diminished (VIII. v. 5-6). Later on, when,

<sup>1</sup> In his article on the rock cut temples at Badami published in the *Indian Antiquary* Dr. Burgess states "It only remains to notice the 6th and 7th plates. They represent the greater portion of a frieze round the inside of the Verandah of the second cave which is also Vaishnava."—Vol. VI, p. 364 A. A comparison with the originals shows that all the sketches were made in cave No. IV and none from cave No. II.



on account of the curse of Durvvāsas, Indra fell on evil days, and when Indra, Varuṇa and the other gods could not find a way out of their difficulty, they agreed to go to the Sumeru mountain and consult Brahmā. They therefore went to the Sumeru mountain, laid their case before Brahmā (7). Brahmā counselled them to pray to Viṣṇu (10). The gods accordingly went to the ocean of milk (13) and started praying to Hari (14). After the gods had prayed to him, Hari appeared before them (VIII. vi. 1). He then counselled them to make peace with the Daityas (19) and to produce a nectar to make themselves immortal (21). He told them to throw all sorts of grasses, creepers and other medicinal plants into the sea of milk, and then to make the mountain Mandara the churning stick (22). He also told the gods that though the Daityas would work with them in churning the ocean, *i.e.*, would participate in the labour, the fruit of that labour should be enjoyed by them (the gods) only (23).

The representation of this incident begins at the right end of the back-wall of this verandah. On the lintel supported by the two pilasters on the extreme right or west in the rear of the verandah, we find, beginning from the left, a female standing with clasped hands to the left of whom is Viṣṇu lying on the coils of the snake Ananta or Śeṣha: Brahmā is seated on a lotus, the stalk of which springs from the navel of the former. Behind him we see three figures standing with hands clasped in adoration. These three figures represent the gods praying to Hari. The right half of the basrelief is occupied by another group consisting of three males and a female with long headdresses rushing towards the right. On the right are three males with maces and another is standing facing them. This part of the basrelief cannot be explained at present, as these figures do not fit in with the narrative as given in the *Purāṇas*.

When Viṣṇu had disappeared, Brahmā and Śiva went to their own abodes, and the other gods went to Bali in order to make a peace with him (26). Bali, the king of the Daityas, though he saw the gods without any arms or armour, forbade his own soldiers to kill them (27). Then the gods approached Bali, the son of Vairochana (28) and Indra himself proposed the churning of the Ocean and other subjects to Bali (29). Indra's proposal, Bali found acceptable, and it was accepted also by other Daitya chiefs such as Śambara, Arishtaṇemi, Pauloma and Kāleya, inhabitants of Tripura. In the next lintel, to the left or east of this lintel, which is supported by the second pillar and the third pilaster in the rear of this verandah, we find the representation of the visit or embassy of the gods to Bali. Here we find a man on the back of an elephant going towards the right, preceded by a female with a *chāmara* and five musicians carrying a conch shell (*śaṅkha*), lyre (*vīṇā*), flute (*venu*), horn (*śringa*), and a drum. To the right of this group we find king Bali seated in his court. To his left, a man with four heads and four hands is standing addressing him. The king is seated on a throne and to his left is another man holding a vase in his hands. To his right is Śiva standing in front of his bull and by his side is Brahmā also with four hands and four heads. On

the extreme right two more males are standing. It is not understood how Vishṇu, Śiva and Brahmā come to be represented in this scene, and how Bali is seated while they are standing. The Bhāgavata *Purāṇa* mentions specially that Vishṇu disappeared and Brahmā and Śiva went to their own abodes, before the gods started for the capital of Bali, yet this particular basrelief does not resemble any part of the narrative given in any of the *Purāṇas* regarding the preliminaries that preceded the churning of the ocean of milk, by the combined efforts of the Gods and the Asuras. The embassy of the Gods headed by Indra is specially mentioned in the Matsya *Purāṇa* also, where we find that it was Brahmā who counselled the Gods to go to the abode of Bali, and make peace with the Asuras, to make an attempt to churn the ocean of milk, to take the mountain Mandara as a churning stick as well as to pray to Vishṇu to take the form of a tortoise in *Pātāla*.<sup>1</sup> Here also we find the mention of the Gods going to Bali, but it is not specified whether Vishṇu, Śiva and Brahmā also went as supplicants or not. From the Vishṇu *Purāṇa* also, we learn that the Gods were requested by Vishṇu himself to secure the assistance of the Daityas, but it is not mentioned whether Vishṇu, Śiva and Brahmā went with the deputation of Gods, to the capital of Bali.<sup>2</sup>

The basrelief on the next lintel comes as an interlude in the chapter on the churning of the ocean, and does not seem to bear any connection with it. It is divisible into two different parts, or, rather, three different parts. In the first part, on the extreme left, we find all the gods on their respective vehicles going towards the right. Thus beginning from the left we find Varuṇa on a *Makara* and below him Budha (?) on a lion; then comes Indra himself on Airāvata, his elephant. In front of him is Vishṇu on Garuḍa, and Skanda on a peacock; near him is his father Śiva on his bull, and in front of all Brahmā on his goose. The second part of the basrelief represents Śrī or Lakshmī, seated, in her abode, on a lotus. On each side of her is an attendant, pouring water over her head, from a jar, which an elephant has brought in its trunk. The third part of the basrelief is devoted to the representation of the fight between Durgā and Mahishāsurā. Here we find the Goddess with four hands standing to the right and pinning down the Buffalo Demon with a trident held in her upper left hand, while she holds a horn of the Demon with one of her right hands. In her other left hand she holds a mace or a sword, and in her other right hand a conch or a vase. Behind her there are half a dozen people who appear to be her attendants and are attacking the host of Demons, indicated by one man kneeling on the ground in front of the Buffalo and another standing behind them. A third male, evidently an Asura, has been killed already, as he is lying prostrate under the legs of the goddess. The entire basrelief therefore represents the gods coming to pray to Durgā to undertake the killing of the Buffalo Demon and the actual slaughter of Mahisha. The first part of the basrelief represents the deputation of the gods and the central part, Durgā or Śrī seated in her own abode, receiving it. The third

<sup>1</sup> Chapter ccclix. 13-17.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. I, p. 43.

part represents the battle which ended in the death of the buffalo demon. this way, the narrative represented in the basrelief is different from that given in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. In the 79th chapter of that portion of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, which is known as the "*Devī-māhātmya*," we find that after fighting for full one hundred years, when Mahisha was the Lord of Asuras and Purandara of the Devas, the army of the gods was defeated by the army of the Asuras and Mahisha became Indra. Then all the vanquished gods went to Brahmā and making him their foreman, went to Viṣṇu. When the plight of the gods had been made known to Viṣṇu, he became very angry and then from the mouth of Viṣṇu, which was full of anger, a mighty energy emerged. Then similar energies emerged from Brahmā and Śiva as well as all the other gods. These energies became combined in one, shone as a mountain of fire, and became a female (1-12). The next eighteen verses are devoted to the different parts or arms which were given by the different gods or semi-divine beings to this female. On learning of the commotion created throughout the universe by this female, Mahisha ran with a host of Asuras (31-36). Then began the battle between this Goddess and the army of Mahishāsura (39-70). In the next chapter we find the description of the killing of Mahishāsura, who, when he saw that his soldiers were being killed, went to fight with Ambikā. His end is described in the following manner:—"The Goddess placed one foot on his neck and pierced him with her spear. Then the Asura brought out half of his real body through his mouth (*i.e.*, the mouth of the Buffalo) and the Goddess cut away his head with her great sword (38-40)." In this account we do not find any description of the deputation of the chief Gods to Durga or her creation from the energy exuding from them.

On the next lintel we find a basrelief which is a continuation of the story of the churning of the ocean of milk. The narrative as given in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* runs as follows:—The Gods and the Asuras combined and lifted up the mountain Mandara by force. They brought it to the ocean of milk and though the gods and the Asuras were very powerful, both parties became tired, after having brought the mountain to the shores of the Ocean. When the Suras and the Asuras let the mountain go on account of its heavy weight, many of them were killed, when it came in contact with the earth. Having learnt that the Suras and the Asuras were injured and dispirited, Viṣṇu came to that spot and revived those who had been killed. Then he raised the mountain with one hand placed it on his vehicle, Garuḍa, and took it towards the sea. The Suras and the Asuras surrounded him and went with him (VIII. vi 32). On arriving at the sea, Garuḍa lowered the mountain from his shoulders and then the God sent him away lest he should scare away Vāsuki (33).

Then the Gods and Asuras made the great snake, Vāsuki, the churning rope and started churning the Ocean (VIII. vii. 1). We learn from the next *śloka*, that in order to evade the poisonous fumes coming from the mouth of Vāsuki and in order to make the Asuras take the front side of the snake's body, Viṣṇu himself took up that side first of all. On seeing this the Daitya-Chiots thought that this must be an act of valour and therefore they did not

wish to allow the gods to take up that side. On hearing their protest Hari gave up the front part of Vāsuki's body to the Daityas and caught hold of the hind part (2). Though the gods and the Asuras were powerful yet while churning, the mountain Mandara, not being placed on any receptacle, sank into the Ocean (3). Then Vishṇu assumed the form of a huge tortoise and having entered the sea held up the mountain with his body (5). In the basrelief we see the mountain Mandara represented by a short pillar placed on the back of a tortoise in the centre. On it is seated a figure about whom no explanation is given in any of the *Purāṇas*. It probably represents the mountain Mandara personified. On the right side we find the head of Vāsuki and nine other figures. These must be the Daityas, one of whom has four hands. To the right of the tortoise we find a dwarfish figure who is probably Dhanvantari, the divine physician, who rose as a result of the churning, and to its left we find a horse which is no doubt Uchchaiśravas, the famous horse also produced by the churning, who was, later on, appropriated by Indra. On the left side also we find ten figures, the first two of whom have four hands, and are no doubt Vishṇu and Śiva. The basreliefs in Cave No. IV give more details about the churning of the Ocean, which will be described later on.

The last basrelief on the rear of this verandah represents the final scene after the churning. It is stated that Dhanvantari rose with a pitcher, containing the nectar, from the Ocean of milk (VIII. viii. 20-22). Then the Asuras took away this jar of nectar by force (24). Vishṇu told the Gods "I shall create quarrels between the Asuras" (25). Quarrels arose among the Daityas as predicted by Vishṇu, while he himself assumed the form of a beautiful female in order to lure the Asuras away (27-31). The Asuras then gave the jar of nectar to this female (VIII. ix. 9). The female then told them that they must undertake to do whatever she told them, whether it is good or bad (for them). On this condition only she could undertake to divide this nectar (10). The Asuras consented to this (11). Then the Gods and the Asuras sat down to drink the nectar (13). Vishṇu divided them into two bodies and made them sit in different lines (17). Then, taking the jar, he crossed the line of Daityas and gave the nectar to the gods to drink (18). Rāhu disguised himself as a god and sat in the line of gods, sitting between the Moon and Sun. Having come to know this the Moon and Sun gave this fact out (21). Then Vishṇu cut Rāhu's head off with his wheel (22). His head which had come in contact with the nectar had become immortal and was therefore placed among the planets (23). Vishṇu having made the Gods drink all the nectar went away to his own abode on Garuḍa. Then the Asuras becoming jealous took up their arms and began to fight with the gods (VIII. x. 1). On the shores of that sea a tremendous battle took place between the two parties.

Practically the whole of the 10th chapter of the 8th *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is full of the description of this battle. A portion of the description is carried over into the 11th chapter also where the first twenty-five verses are devoted to it.

This basrelief, which is on the last lintel towards the left in the rear of the verandah of this cave, represents the defeat of the Daityas by the gods after the churning of the ocean. In the centre we find a man with a jar which is evidently the jar of nectar being held up by Vishṇu. Towards the left we find the army of the gods. In front there are two men on foot, with three smaller figurines on the ground, perhaps representing the army of the gods. After this comes Indra on his elephant, under the legs of which three or four dead bodies are lying. Behind him comes Yama, the God of Death, on his buffalo, with two or three soldiers by his side. On the extreme left of the basrelief, Varuṇa is shooting arrows towards the right, from the back of his *Makara*. On the right half of the basrelief we find the vanquished army of the Asuras, still fighting, but flying from the field of battle. In front is a man who has just been struck dead and is falling down. Behind him is a rider on horseback who is shooting towards the left though his horse is in full flight towards the right. Under the horse's legs there are several dead bodies representing the slain of the Asura army. Behind the horse there are four men, one with a sword and another with a bow, and in front of them four wounded Asuras.

The lintels on the front side of the verandah are covered with basreliefs representing incidents in the life of Kṛishṇa. There are five basreliefs in all on this side on five different lintels. Among these there is some doubt about the identification of the first basrelief while the second does not seem to have any significance at all. The remaining three depict the incidents of the life of Kṛishṇa from his birth to the death of Kamsa. In the basrelief on the extreme left or west we find two different scenes. Both of these scenes are most probably connected with the birth of Kṛishṇa as both of them contain figures of Vishṇu. That on the extreme left is much smaller and occupies about one-fourth of the space devoted to the entire basrelief. In this portion we find Vishṇu seated on the back of his vehicle, Garuḍa, who is flying towards the left, and behind him stands a female with a mace. In front of Garuḍa, *i.e.*, on the extreme left of the basrelief, we find a male proceeding towards the left. The other part of the basrelief represents Vishṇu seated with his two wives Lakshmī and Sarasvatī (or Bhūmī) in his special Heaven, Vaikuṇṭha. Behind, *i.e.*, towards his left we find the dwarfish figure of Garuḍa with a snake in his right hand. Behind Lakshmī and Sarasvatī are the figures of two female attendants, while on the extreme right of the basrelief two other females are standing. This basrelief may represent the complaint of Pṛithvī or Medinī to Vishṇu about the excess of weight she had to bear and the exit of Vishṇu on the back of Garuḍa to the earth. In the first chapter of the tenth *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* we find that various Daityas having appeared on the earth in the guise of many proud kings, the Earth, being oppressed by the weight of their numerous armies, went to Brahmā as a cow (14). Brahmā went with her, Śiva and other gods to the shores of the ocean of milk and started worshipping Vishṇu (15). Then he heard a voice in the sky (16) and told the gods that the oppression of the earth had already been brought

to the notice of Viṣṇu and that Hari himself would be born very soon in the house of Vasudeva. The gods were also asked to take birth in the Yadava race and to remain on earth so long as Hari remained there (17). In the basrelief this version has not been adopted. A slightly different version is to be found in the Viṣṇu *Purāṇa* where Viṣṇu takes a black hair and a white hair and informs the Gods that "This my (black) hair shall be impersonated in the eighth conception of the wife of Vasudeva, Devakī.<sup>1</sup>"

The next basrelief is carved on a lintel supported by the two pillars in front of the verandah on the extreme west. It is divided into four compartments by flat square pilasters, having a row of rosettes on them. Each of these compartments contains a male and female in different amorous attitudes. In two of them we find the male holding a cup. This basrelief does not seem to have any special connection with the birth of Kṛishṇa.

The next three lintels are entirely devoted to the representation of the Kṛishṇa-charitra. The story begins on the lintel which is in the centre of the front side of the verandah. Here we find the following scenes:—Beginning from the left we find a female lying on a bed-stead with a baby by her side. Behind her are the busts of two women standing with fly whisks, while a third stands at the head of the bed. Towards the right, a man is seated on a raised seat. This may represent the birth of Kṛishṇa in prison. In that case the female lying on the bed-stead is Devakī, the mother of Kṛishṇa, and the male seated, Vasudeva, his father. It may also represent Kṛishṇa after his transfer to the house of Nanda in Gokula. In that case the female is Yaśodā and the male is Nanda himself. The birth of Kṛishṇa is described in the 10th *skandha* (X. iii. 7). The transfer of the child is also recorded in the same *skandha* of the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa* (X. iii. 41). To the right of the seated male figure we find two females standing each with a child in her arms and another child standing between them. These females represent Yaśodā and Rohiṇī with Kṛishṇa and Balarāma in their laps. To their right are a group of kine indicating that the scene lies in Gokula. This part represents the early childhood of Kṛishṇa in Gokula. The space on the extreme right is occupied by two other incidents of the life of Kṛishṇa, the first of which is his theft of butter from the churn of his foster-mother Yaśodā. We find three women standing side by side one of whom is churning butter in an earthen jar. A child is supporting itself by holding the pitcher with one hand and is drawing butter from it with the other. This incident, though wellknown to all Vaiṣṇavas, is described very shortly in the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa* (X. viii. 20). The next incident is the killing of the *Rākshasī* Pūtānā. We find an emaciated female seated on the ground with her hands thrown up in mortal agony and a child sucking at her breast. To the right of this is a female standing with one hand raised as if in admonition. One night, Pūtānā entered Gokula, taking the form of a beautiful woman. Searching for Kṛishṇa, she came to the house of Nanda and found the boy on the bed (VIII. vi. 3-6). She then took the

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<sup>1</sup> Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. IV, p. 258.

baby in her arms and made him suck at her breasts which were coated with a virulent poison. The child then started pulling at her poisoned mammies with great force (9). The she-demon could not bear the violent suction of the baby and started crying out "Leave, Leave" (10). She assumed her proper form when she found that she was dying and fell down dead (12).

The next panel contains six incidents from the life of Kṛishṇa. These incidents, however, are not arranged in the order in which they are narrated in the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa*. Thus, for example, we find the uprooting of the Yamal-ārjjuna trees before the incident of the upheaval of the cart. The incident of the cart is to be found in the seventh chapter of the tenth *skandha*, when Kṛishṇa was yet a baby and was hardly able to crawl on all fours: while the incident of the uprooting of the trees is described in the tenth chapter of the same *skandha* and happened when Kṛishṇa had learned to walk. The order of the narration of the incidents is the same in the Vishṇu *Purāṇa* as in the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa* where in the sixth chapter of the fifth book we find the incident of the cart narrated before that of the uprooting of the trees.<sup>1</sup> Two sons of Kuvera, the God of Riches, named Nala Kuvara and Maṇigrīva were once disporting themselves with their women on the mountain Kailāsa. At that time the Sage Nārada was passing that way. On seeing him, the females started clothing themselves in haste, but not so the two sons of Kuvera, who being drunk, remained naked (X. x. 11-4). The sage then cursed them and they assumed the form of two trees called Yamal-ārjjuna in Gokula. Once Yaśoda tied Kṛishṇa, as a punishment, to a large wooden mortar. The boy dragged this heavy mortar through the narrow gap between the Yamal-ārjjuna trees and caused them to be uprooted (X. x. 22-23). In the basrelief we find two trees on the extreme left and Kṛishṇa with a rope tied to his middle to the right of them. The rope with which Kṛishṇa is tied passes between the trees and the mortar (*Udukhalā*) is to be seen to the left of the trees. A human bust is seen above one of the trees indicating that being released from the curse, the sons of Kuvera were assuming their normal forms. To the right of these we find a man lying under a cart, while a boy is seen crawling over the cart. According to the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa*, Kṛishṇa was once placed in a rocking cradle under a cart. Having waked up he started crying, but his cry was not heard by his foster-mother, who was engaged in receiving her friends and relations. Kṛishṇa started kicking at the cart with his small feet. The baby's kick was sufficient to overthrow the cart to the destruction of the vessels, laden with food which had been placed near it (X. vii. 5-8). The basrelief shows the child crawling on to the cart, which does not fit in with the description of the *Purāṇas*.<sup>2</sup> In the middle of the basrelief we find

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, ed. by Fitz. Edward Hall, Vol. IV, pp. 279, 281.

<sup>2</sup> In the list of contents of the various chapters of some *Purāṇas*, e.g., the *Padma Purāṇa*, this incident is styled the destruction of the cart-demon (*śakal-āsura-mardana*) but in the body of the *Purāṇa* itself no mention is made of a demon who had assumed the form of a cart, cf., *Padmapurāṇa-uttarakhandā*—ch. cclxxii, 82-84, and its list of contents in the *Ānand-śrīrama* edition of 1894. So also the list of contents of the *Hari-vamśa-purāṇa* published by the Venkatesvara press, Bombay, which refers to this incident as "*Śakal-āsura-vadha-varṇanām*" but the word *asura* is not to be found in the text, cf., fol. 100 a-b, verses 4-21, chap. 6, *Vishṇuparvā*.

two other incidents connected with the killing of certain demons. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* two demons named Vatsa and Arishṭa were killed by Kṛishṇa. The account of the death of Vatsāsura is to be found in the eleventh chapter of the tenth *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, where it is stated that once Kṛishṇa and Balarāma were tending calves with their other friends. At that time a Daitya wanting to do them some harm, mixed with the calves in the form of a bull-calf (X. xi. 22-23) Kṛishṇa caught hold of the hind legs of this Daitya, transformed into a calf, and whirled him over his head for some time. When he was dead he threw the carcass on to the top of a Kapittha tree (24). The killing of the other bull, the form of which had been assumed by the other Daitya Arishṭa, is to be found in a later chapter. This Asura who had taken the form of a bull came to the pasture lands of Gokula (X. xxxvi. 2). On seeing him the inhabitants of Gokula became frightened and all other animals began to fly (5). They then went and took refuge with Kṛishṇa asking him to protect them. The God then gave them assurance and called the Asura (6). As soon as he came the Lord caught hold of his horns and drove him back for eighteen steps. The Asura fell down but rose again immediately and rushed at Kṛishṇa. Kṛishṇa once more caught hold of his horns and whirling him over his head, killed him (19-12). To the right of the incident of the slaughter of these two bulls, we find Kṛishṇa striking a Nāga who is standing with hands clasped in adoration before him. This is undoubtedly the taming of the Nāga Kāliya which is described in the sixteenth chapter of the tenth *skandha*. There was a pool in the river Yamunā wherein Kāliya used to live. On account of the fire of Kāliya's poison the water of that lake used always to boil. Therefore, even when birds and other animals, who fly, went over it, they fell into it and died (4). Kṛishṇa finding the water of that lake very poisonous, climbed on a *kadamba* tree, which had managed to survive on the banks of this lake, and having tied his waist cloth securely, leaped into the water from this high tree, (6). Kāliya, hearing the noise, came out in a great rage (8). After coming out he bit Kṛishṇa and caught him in the coils of his own body (9) Kṛishṇa, seeing himself in this plight and seeing that all the women and children with the whole of Gokula grieved for him, rose from the bonds of that snake (20). The God's body having expanded, the coils of the snake's body were strained and therefore the latter left him (21). The Lord Hari then started walking round the snake like Garuḍa and the snake also started turning round and round waiting for an opportunity to bite (22). On account of this sort of movement the snake's strength was destroyed. Then, lowering his high head, the Lord rose on it and started dancing. The Nāga Kāliya had a hundred heads. Being very weak he was still turning round and whichever head of his was not low enough, the Lord Hari, on the plea of dancing, kicked that head. Then the snake vomitted blood from his mouths and noses and fainted (24). When all the heads were broken by that wonderful dance, Kāliya, in his mind, took shelter in Nārāyaṇa, (26). Kāliya's wife also came out and asked for mercy (27).



At their intercession Kṛishṇa descended from the head of Kāliya, when the latter started praying to him, (48). He was ordered to leave that lake and to go to the Ramanaka Island (53-56). On the extreme left of the basrelief we find the representation of some palm trees and a quadruped running towards it, followed by a man who holds on to its tail. This represents the slaughter of the demon Dhenuka by Balarāma which is described in the fifteenth chapter of the tenth *skandha* of the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa*. When the inhabitants of Gokula were rambling, with their flocks, in the forests, on account of the disturbances in Gokula, the companions of Kṛishṇa saw a forest of *Tāla* palms and being desirous of enjoying the ripe fruit, they asked Kṛishṇa and Balarāma to give the fruit to them; stating, at the same time, that this *Tāla* grove was protected by the Asura Dhenuka. Rāma and Kṛishṇa then entered the grove and started shaking the fruits from the trees (17-19). Dhenuka, who had taken the form of an ass, on hearing the sound of the falling *Tāla* fruit rushed towards that direction, shaking the earth with its mountains (20). Dhenuka then struck Balarāma in the breast, with his forefeet and imitating the coarse bray of the ass, ran round him (21). Balarāma caught hold of the front legs of the ass when it came to attack him, whirled it round over his head and, when he came to know that it was dead, threw the body on the top of a *Tāla* tree (23).

We now come to the last basrelief in the verandah of the cave. It represents three incidents of the life of Kṛishṇa. The left half represents the lifting of the mount Govardhana. In this we find Kṛishṇa standing holding up a mass of rocks with his right hand. On his left are three figures, one lying down, one sitting and the other standing. These represent the people of Gokula in the shelter of Govardhana. Four cows with a number of calves to the right indicate the flocks of the people of Gokula. This incident is described in the twentyfourth chapter of the tenth *skandha* of the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa*. Once Kṛishṇa saw the inhabitants of Gokula making arrangements for the performance of an *Indra-Yajña* (X. xxiii. 1). According to his counsel, Nanda and the other elders of Gokula, did not perform that sacrifice that year (28). Indra became very angry and sent his clouds to deluge the *Vrajabhūmi* with rain (X. xxv. 3). The people of Gokula then took shelter in Kṛishṇa and he promised to protect them. He then took up the mount Govardhana with his hands and held it up as an umbrella (18-19). Then he asked the people of Gokula to take shelter under the mountain, which they did with their flocks, carts, servants and priests, (21). The remainder of the basrelief represents two other incidents. To the right of the flock of cattle under the shelter of mount Govardhana we find two men fighting with each other. This represents the fight of Kṛishṇa with the Asura Chāṇūra in the palace of Kāṁsa, which is described in the fortythird and fortyfourth chapters of the tenth *skandha* of the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa*, (X. xliii. 28-29; X. xliiv. 1). The next incident is difficult to identify. In the basrelief we find a man seated with a heavy staff. One man is standing behind the latter, while another soldier with a mace is standing on the extreme right of the basrelief. The

only incident with which this may be identified in the *Kṛishṇa Charitra*, as described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, is the slaughter of the eight brothers of Kāṁsa, with an elephant's tusk by Balarāma (X. lxiv. 29).

The roof of the verandah is divided into five different panels by means of plain lintels which are supported by brackets shaped as lions issuing from the mouths of *makaras*. The panel on the east or left hand of the roof bears a male and a female, apparently *gandharvas*, flying through the air. The female has entwined her left leg with the right leg of the male and the male is holding her left hand with his left. In the next panel to the right or west we have the *Nandyāvartta*<sup>1</sup> symbol, which is a square figure combined with four *svastikas*; which, in this case, are placed in the corners. In the middle of the symbol there is a raised panel with a lotus in relief on it. The central panel is the most elaborate of all. It consists of a large square which includes two other squares, one within the other. Between the first and second squares there is a row of square rosettes. Between the second and the third there are a number of flying dwarfs (*gaṇas*). The third square contains a wheel, with sixteen fishes as its spokes and a large lotus as its hub. This is the representation of the wheel of Viṣṇu. The next panel to the right or west contains another *Nandyāvartta* (?) symbol in which the *svastikas* are placed against the four sides of the square instead of at the corners. The corners are occupied by four pairs of *gandharvas* flying through the air of which the pair at the north eastern corner carry swords in their hands. The last or the fifth panel, which is the first panel from the right or the western side, contains a figure of Viṣṇu on the back of Garuḍa flying through the air. Originally this figure was enclosed by a large painted circle with four smaller painted circles at the corners. Viṣṇu holds his wheel in the upper left, a rosary in the lower, a conch in the upper right while the lower is placed on his thigh. Garuḍa is represented without wings. The ceiling of the entire cave was painted in different colours traces of which are still visible in many places when the light is favourable.

### CAVE NO. III.

To the left of Cave No. II is another natural cave with a basrelief in it representing the Bodhisattva (?) Padmapāṇi (?) which has been very much injured. A male is seated to the left of the main figure. There are several interesting figurines on both sides of the main figure. Thus on the right, we have a female at the top with long hair, rising almost straight from her head. Below her are two males one below the other. Below this is apparently a representation of hell as we find a snake on the left and to its right a man issuing out of a funnel. At the lower part of a funnel are two human figures, with upraised hands, apparently sinking in a basin of some heated liquid. Above this there is a man and a woman with a child. To the left, we have a male standing and a female bowing down. To the right of the female is the

<sup>1</sup> Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, p. 138.

figure of an archer. Under them are two figures seated side by side, while at the bottom is a female standing with left hand lifted up. To her right is a male leading an elephant towards her. The figure is 5' 8" in height and 3' 4" broad at the base. A little higher than this cave, just below the opening in the wall in the west side of the ground in front of Cave No. IV is a cleft in the rock in which steps leading to the fort on the top of the hill have been built.

#### CAVE NO. IV.

From Cave No. II a series of fifty-four steps, partly rock-cut and partly artificial, takes the visitor to Cave No. IV, the largest and the most elaborately ornamented cave of the entire group. The ground in front of the cave has been enclosed by a high wall on both sides, the front and the back being protected by the hillside and a projecting rock in front. The wall on the right or west is pierced in one place through which access can be gained to the ground in front of the cave. There is a platform in front of the cave as in the case of caves Nos. I and II, which is not rock-cut, but has been built with stones obtained from this locality. As in the case of the other two caves, this platform bears a long dado with figures of dwarfs. In the case of the first two caves the dwarfs are placed in a single sunken panel carved on the rock itself, but in this case, as the platform itself is artificial, the dwarfs have been placed in a series of small sunken panels each containing two such figures. Each and every stone, used in building this platform, bears two to three such panels. In the centre of the platform, there are some modern steps built of small rubble masonry which hide a portion of this dado containing a number of sunken panels with dwarfs. The platform in front of this cave is *L* shaped, as in the case of that in front of cave No. I, but in this case the shorter arm of the *L* is much shorter than the longer one. This shorter arm of the platform has beneath it a single panel containing the figures of two dwarfs. In front of the platform, before the cave proper, there are seven panels on the right or the west containing seven pairs of dwarfs. To the left or the east there are nine panels containing eighteen such figures. Over this platform there is a sloping cornice, as in the case of cave No. I, but in this particular case this cornice is very heavy in size. There are also no ribs or imitation wooden framing on the inside of this cornice. Near its top, *i.e.*, where it joins the main rock, there are a series of imitation beams and cross beams dividing the horizontal part of it into a number of square sunken panels edged with plain raised ribs. This cornice bears some basreliefs at one or two places. The portion of it just in front of the door of the main shrine bears in relief a figure of Garuḍa with two hands, holding a snake in the left. He is attended by a pair of *gandharvas* on each flank, the males on each side holding swords. On the wall at the east or left end of this platform, *i.e.*, at the end near to the steps leading to Cave No. V or the Jain Cave, we find a representation of the *Virāṭa Puruṣa* or the gigantic form assumed by Viṣṇu in his dwarf or *Vāmana* incarnation, just before measuring the earth and the

Heaven with two steps. The figure is standing almost on the level of the platform and not on any pedestal. It is standing in an easy posture and has eight hands. In its right hands it holds a wheel (*chakra*), an arrow (*śara*), a mace (*gadā*), and a sword (*asi*). In his left hands the figure carries a conch (*Śankha*), a shield (*charmma*) and a bow (*dhanu*), while the fourth hand is placed on a knot of his garments against his left thigh. In his "Elements of Hindu Iconography" the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao calls this an image of *Vaikuṇṭhanātha*<sup>1</sup> but in an image of *Vaikuṇṭhanātha* we ought to have four faces, which are wanting in the Badami basrelief. In this image we find the God standing on both legs and not seated on Garuḍa as required. It shows the stage when the dwarf had suddenly increased to a great height as stated in the twentieth chapter of the eighth *skandha* of the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa*, which is the state immediately before the covering of the earth with one foot and the heaven with the second. To the north of this figure the basrelief is continued under the cornice where we find six pairs of *gandharvas* with their consorts flying to the right or east. Some of the males carry swords and shields. Just over the head of the figure there is a small bust with a lion's head and four hands. Two of these hands are placed on the headdress (*kirīṭa*) of the *Virāṭa Puruṣa* while the remaining two hold a wheel in the left and a conch in the right. This is evidently a representation of *Narasimha* but no connection can be traced in any of the *Purāṇas* between the Manlion and the Dwarf incarnations of Viṣṇu, nor does the narrative, of the Dwarf incarnation, contain any reference about the presence of any abnormal being shaped as a Man-lion. This basrelief measures 12' 4" in height and 5' 6" in length.

There are six pillars and two pilasters in the front of the verandah. Each of these pillars has a bracket springing from it, with one arm on each of its four sides, while the pilasters have only three instead of four. Of these brackets only two are existing in front out of eight. They are shaped as lions rampant supported by dwarfs at the bottom, *i.e.*, near the feet of the lions.

At the other end of the platform, *i.e.*, the right or west end a larger amount of space is available on which we find a huge basrelief measuring 13' 1" in height and 11' in length. It represents the dwarf or *Vāmana* incarnation of Viṣṇu, which we also find in cave No. II. Here, also, the basrelief is divided into two parts. The first part consists of the gift of land, measuring three steps, by king Bali to the dwarf *Brāhmaṇa*. Of the dwarf, only the umbrella is uninjured. The whole of his body appears to have been chiselled away at some time before 1874. Towards his right we find a person standing with a vessel of water. This person has been delineated in the same manner in which Gautama Buddha is represented in sculptures of this period. We find the *saṅghāṭi*, an *urnā* and the *uśnīṣa*. This is no doubt an intentional representation and it may contain a hidden reference to the extinction of the Buddhist faith on account of a revival of Vaishṇavism. Behind this figure there is a crowned male, whom it is difficult to identify. It may be that the artist meant the

<sup>1</sup> *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 256, pl. lxxv.

Buddha-like figure to be *Śukrāchārya*, the Spiritual preceptor of the Asuras, while the second figure is that of king Bali himself. But it is definitely stated in all the Purāṇas that Śukrāchārya tried his best to make Bali desist from giving three steps of land to this dwarf, and that king Bali himself took a waterpot from his wife, Vindhyaṅgalī, and gave the promised three steps of land to the Dwarf. Behind these two males is the figure of a female which no doubt stands for Queen Vindhyaṅgalī, the wife of Bali. The second part of the basrelief represents *Trivikrama*, i.e., the transformed figure of the dwarf incarnation, covering the Earth and Heaven in two steps, as in the case of the figure of the left or east wall of the platform in cave No. II. The dwarf holds a wheel, an arrow, a mace and a sword in his right hands, a conch, a bow, and a shield in his left hands while the remaining left hand is pointing towards the figure of Rāhu, which is carved on a projecting ledge of the rock towards the right of Trivikrama. Again, as in the case of the same basrelief of cave No. II, we find a man clasping the right thigh of Trivikrama and the crescent of the moon is to be seen on a cloud to the left of his head. The attack of the attendants of Bali on Vishṇu is shown by three figures, near the top, rushing to the right. The one in front is a crowned figure with a halo behind his head, the second figure has the head of a boar while the third is a short pot-bellied dwarf. Their defeat is signified by a figure, holding a sword and a shield, falling down from the sky. To the right of the falling figure we find the bust of a male with a noose (*pāśa*) in his right hand. This represents Garuḍa waiting with a *pāśa* to bind Bali. We do not find any indication of Garuḍa in this basrelief in cave No. II. The incident is described in the 21st chapter of the eighth *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. When Bali had asked his attendants to desist from fighting with the attendants of Vishṇu (VIII. xxi. 1-13), the latter, out of fear of the former, entered the nether regions. Then Garuḍa, learning of the intentions of the Lord, bound Bali with the noose (*Vāruṇa pāśa*) on the day of the sacrificial *Somābhisara* (14). After being bound with the noose Bali lost his splendour. The Lord Vāmana then asked him, "O chief of Asuras, you have given land measuring three steps. The entire universe has been covered by me in two steps. Please give me the third step, wherever it is (15). You promised to give me land, thinking that you were rich, but now do not give it. Therefore for deceiving me and speaking an untruth go to Hell for some time (20)."

The verandah of this cave is the most elaborate among Indian Cave temples with the exception of the Kailāsa Cave at Ellora. Each of the pilasters and six pillars support brackets near the top. These brackets in themselves are elaborate reliefs. Beginning from the left or the east we find that the bracket in front, on the pilaster at the extreme left or east end, is shaped as a deer rampant, with a squatting dwarf at its foot. The bracket on the west side of this pilaster bears the representation of a male and female standing with their arms around each others necks. A female attendant stands to their right with a vase in her right hand. The bracket at the back of this pilaster represents a female standing with her hand on the head of a female atten-

dant, who holds a vase in her left hand. The brackets on the first pillar on the left are four in number. Beginning from the east face we find a Nāga and Nāgī standing side by side under a flowering tree; the Nāga facing, while the Nāgī is turning her back and scratching the breast of the Nāga. A small dwarfish attendant stands with a vase to the left. The bracket in front is shaped as a rampant lion with a dwarf squatting in front. The bracket on the western side represents Śiva and Pārvatī. Śiva is leading Pārvatī forward, whose head is leaning on the breast of Śiva. There are two crescents and a skull on the headdress of Śiva indicating that it is Śiva. To the left is a tree, on which a horn is slung. To the left of Śiva is a pole with two jars on it (? *Khaivāṅga*). The bracket at the back of this pillar represents a female standing, leaning back against a tree, kicking it with her left foot. She holds a mirror in her right hand, while her left hand is on her thigh. She is attended by two figures, a dwarf to the right and a female to the left. On the next pillar, i.e., the second from the east or left, the bracket on the eastern face bears on it a figure of *Arddhanārīśvara*, which is a combination of Śiva and Pārvatī. The headdress is composed of matted hair on the left, with a skull and crescent and a jewelled crown on the right. The figure has four hands and holds a battleaxe with a snake and a round object in the left hands and a mirror in the upper right hand, while the lower is placed on the thigh. The figure is attended by a male on the left and a dwarf on the right.<sup>1</sup> The bracket in front is broken, while that on the west or right represents a male and female standing side by side in an amorous posture under a mangoe tree. The male is holding one breast of the female, while the female is holding the loin cloth of the male. The bracket on the back represents a female standing under a *kadamba* tree, reading a scroll or a letter. To her left stands a dwarf holding an ink pot. On the third pillar from the left, the bracket on the east bears a representation of a male and a female standing under a tree. The male holds a small casket in his left hand, while the left hand of the female is placed on her lip in a posture which indicates the expression of wonder. The bracket in front represents a horned lion rampant, with a dwarf hanging to its tail under its belly. The tail curves upwards over its back and then falls down under the stomach. Over this is another smaller bracket over the capital, the eastern face of which is blank while the other face represents a male with a sword in hand flying through the air, with a female on his left. The bracket on the west represents a male and female standing side by side under a mango tree. The male holds a flower in his left hand while the left hand of the female is placed on a knot of the male's garment. There is a dwarf standing to the left and a female attendant seated to the right. The bracket at the back represents a female standing under a tree with a scroll in her right hand, while the left hand is placed on the head of a female attendant, standing on the left, holding a fly-whisk in her left hand and a vase in her right hand. The fourth pillar from the left, which is the third from the

<sup>1</sup> A larger figure of *Arddhanārīśvara* is to be found in cave No. I about which see p. 6, *ante*.

right, has on the bracket on its eastern face a male standing under a tree with a bow in his right hand and an arrow in his left hand. A female to his right is embracing him having entwined one of her legs with that of the male. A horse-headed attendant stands to the left with a quiver full of arrows. A pillar on the extreme left surmounted by a *makara* indicates that the principal figures are Kāma, the God of love and his consort Rati. The bracket in front represents a horned lion, which is now partly broken, while that on the west represents Śiva standing under a tree with four hands, holding a trident (*triśūla*) and a small drum (*damaru*) in his left hands and a battleaxe (*paraśu*) in his upper right hand, while the lower supports the left elbow of Pārvatī. A dwarfish attendant to the left holds an umbrella over the head of the pair. To the right of Pārvatī is Kārttikeya on his peacock. The bracket at the back of this pillar represents a female standing under a tree holding to one of its branches with her left hand. To her left stands a female attendant, holding a vase in her left hand. Behind her is a male with his mouth wide open in wonder. The bracket on the next pillar, which is the fourth from the left or the east and the second from the west, has on the eastern face a male and a female standing with their arms round each other's neck while a dwarf stands to the left holding a large sword. The one in front is broken, while that on the west represents another male and female standing side by side under a tree. The male holds a round object in its left and the female a cup in her right hand. There is a dwarfish attendant to the left. The bracket at the back of this pillar bears the representation of a female standing under a tree with a garland and with a female attendant standing on each side. The first pillar from the right or west, which is the sixth pillar from the left or the east, has on its eastern face a male and a female standing side by side. The female holds flowers in her right hand and has placed her left hand in the left hand of the male. The right hand of the male is placed over the shoulder of the female. The bracket in front is broken while that on the west represents Śiva standing under a tree with his right leg over the head of a dwarf. Pārvatī stands to the right resting her left elbow, on her knee. Śiva has four hands and holds a battleaxe and a cup in his left hands, while the upper right is raised aloft. The remaining left hand is placed on the shoulder of Pārvatī. The bracket at the back represents a female standing under a tree. There is a female attendant standing with a vase in her right hand to the left of the main figure. On the bracket on the east we find a male and female standing face to face, the female having raised her left leg on to the waist of the male who holds it up in his left hand. She is engaged in pulling down the head of the male to kiss him. This is a peculiar form of kissing which is recorded in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. The bracket in front is shaped as a horned lion rampant with a dwarf seated under its belly holding on to its tail.

In the middle of each of the faces of the square shafts of these pillars and pilasters there is a round medallion containing human figures. The medallions on the pilaster on the extreme left are three in number. In front we

find a half-medallion with a man seated on a couch, leaning against a cushion, with a dwarf near his head. The medallion on the western face represents a male and a female seated on a couch, leaning against a cushion with a dwarf near their heads. The medallion on the western face represents a male and a female seated on a couch with a fly-whisk between them. To the left of the male, a dwarf appears over the cushion, while the female holds a mirror in her right hand, and the male a cup in his left hand. The half-medallion at the back contains a male and a female embracing. There are four similar medallions on the first pillar towards the east or the left. On the eastern face we find a Nāga and Nāgī seated with arms around each other's necks inside the medallion. There is a dwarf standing with a bottle on the left and another with a cup on the right. The medallion in front contains a male with a cup in his left hand, drawing a female on his left, to his lap. There is an attendant figurine on each side. The medallion on the west represents a male seated with a female on his lap on a bedstead. A female attendant is standing on each side. The medallion at the back represents a female with a mirror in her hand, seated to the left of a male, who holds a cup in his left hand. Similarly there are four medallions on the second pillar from the east. The medallion towards the east represents a male seated with a cup in his left hand and a female on his left. A female attendant, with a vase, stands to the right. The medallion in front is broken. That on the west is three quarters of a circle in shape and contains a male and female seated with a male attendant on the left and a female attendant on the right. The medallion at the back contains the figure of a seated dwarf, holding a garland in both hands. The third also bears four medallions; that on the east represents a male and female embracing in a seated posture, with a female attendant with a vase standing in front. The medallion in front is broken and that on the west has also almost disappeared. The medallion at the back contains a male and female seated in an amorous posture. The fourth pillar from the east has, in the medallion on the east, a male and female seated in an amorous posture, with a female standing on the left with a vase in her left hand. The medallion in front is broken while that on the west represents a male seated on a couch offering a cup to a female lying on his lap. A female attendant with a cup in one hand is standing on the right, while another is standing on the left. The medallion at the back contains the figure of a female seated on the lap of a male, the latter offering her a cup. A female with a vase is standing to the right, while another attendant is to be seen on the left. On the fifth pillar the medallion on the east is defaced, but that in front contains a figure of Kārttikeya, on a peacock, going towards the left. The medallion on the west bears the figure of Varuṇa seated on a *makara*. The medallion at the back has become indistinct on account of weathering and contains the figure of a male with two hands. In the last pillar from the east, *i.e.*, the first from the west, we find on the eastern face a medallion containing a male and female seated in an amorous posture, with a female attendant to the left, all mutilated. Similarly mutilated figures of a male and female are to be found in the medal-



lion in front. The medallion on the west and that at the back shows three seated but mutilated figures. Two of the three medallions on the pilaster on the extreme right or west are semicircular in shape, that on the front contains a seated male, that on the east shows a male and female seated side by side on a couch, while that at the back contains a dwarf seated with a flower in his hands.

Entering the verandah proper we find four immense basreliefs in it. Two of them are carved on the two small side walls, the remaining two being carved on the two solid ends of the rear of this verandah. At the east or left end we find an image of Vishnu seated on the coils or the body of the snake Ananta, who has spread his hood consisting of five different heads over the head of the deity. Vishnu is seated in the posture which a Buddhist Iconographer would describe as the *Mahārājāñilā* posture and has four hands. In the upper left hand he holds the wheel, while he holds an indistinct object in the lower. The upper right holds a conch, while the lower is placed over his right leg. A Nāgī is standing on each side of the figure, while Garuḍa is seated with his back against the body of Ananta in the lower left corner. The whole is placed on a short narrow pedestal, in front of which is a sunken panel containing seventeen dwarfs in different attitudes. This is a very peculiar image of Vishnu, as in all cases where we find him on the Nāga Ananta or Śeṣha, we find him lying at full length. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has identified this image with the *Bhogāsana Mūrti* of Vishnu,<sup>1</sup> but the identification is not correct, as Ananta is not to be found either at Ellora or in any of his other illustrations of this subject. Such images, so far as our knowledge goes, have been rarely discovered in Northern India, while very few have been discovered in the south. The wall space measures 7' 8" length and 12' 9" in height. The adjoining wall space to the right, which is the left end of the rear wall contains a fine image of the Boar incarnation. The story, as told in the Purāṇas, has already been narrated at length in connection with the description of the image of Varāha in Cave No. II, therefore a description of the basrelief itself will suffice. The Boar is standing in the *Pratyāñḍha* posture, the right foot being bent forward and placed on the body of a Nāga, who is half seated and half standing on the right. Under him is another Nāga, holding a garland in his left hand, while under him is the figure of a dwarf, lying on the ground and behind him stands a female with a flywhisk in her left hand. The Boar has four hands and holds a wheel in the upper left and a conch in the upper right. He is holding the Earth Goddess (*Medinī*) in his right, who supports herself by placing her left hand on the right shoulder of the Boar. The remaining left hand is placed on the left thigh. The figure wears a jewelled crown and over it are two pairs of *gandharvas* flying through the air.<sup>2</sup> The entire group is standing on a pedestal, in front of which is a sunken panel, containing eight dwarfs, either singing or playing on musical instruments. The wall space is 12' 8" in height and 6' 9" in breadth.

<sup>1</sup> *Elements of Hindu Iconography* Vol. I, pp. 87-89, pl. XXV.

<sup>2</sup> Images of these different incarnations of Vishnu have been described in Matsya *Purāṇa*-chapter 260.

At the right end of the rear wall, between the two pilasters on the right, we find a fine standing image of Harihara. Śiva is to be found on the left or the proper right half and Vishnu on the right or the proper left. The figure has four hands, the upper left holding a battleaxe with a snake and the upper right a conch. The lower left holds an indistinct round object while the lower right is placed on the right thigh. There is a crescent on the left half of the head dress and an earring made of a snake in the left ear while the right half bears the crown and ornaments usually to be found in an image of Vishnu. There is no pedestal below this figure which is standing on a raised plain band. The basrelief measures 12' 11" in height and 7' in breadth. The adjoining wall space, which is the small wall at the right end of the verandah, bears a fine image of the man-lion incarnation of Vishnu. The figure is standing with its right leg slightly advanced towards the right. It has four hands, of which the objects held in the left hand are indistinct. In the upper right hand it holds some long hair while the lower rests on a mace, the end of which touches the ground. A small dwarf is flying over the upper left and right hands, while over the head of the God there is a *gandharva* pair on each side, flying on clouds. The head of the God is shaped like that of a real lion with long flowing mane parted in the middle. Over this mane a lotus is growing out of the head of the God. Near the left foot of the God, a dwarf, resembling a Greek cupid, is standing with an indistinct object in his right hand, while Garuḍa wearing a crown is standing on the right. This Garuḍa is represented as a well proportioned male and not as a dwarf.<sup>1</sup> The basrelief measures 12' 9" in height and 7' 7" in breadth.

The story of the man-lion incarnation is narrated in almost all of the *Purāṇas*, in connection with Prahlāda, one of the principal devotees of Viṣṇu. "Hiraṇyakaśipu, the son of Diti, had formerly brought the three worlds under his authority; confiding in a boon bestowed upon him by Brahmā. He had usurped the sovereignty of Indra, and exercised, of himself, the functions of the Sun, of Air, of the Lord of Waters, of Fire, and of the Moon. He himself was the God of Riches; he was the judge of the dead; and he appropriated to himself, without reserve, all that was offered, in sacrifice, to the Gods. The deities, therefore, flying from their seats in Heaven, wandered, through fear of the Daitya, upon the earth, disguised in mortal shapes." .. "The illustrious son of the Daitya King, Prahlāda, being yet a boy, resided in the dwelling of his preceptor, where he read such writings as are studied in early years. On one occasion he came, accompanied by his teacher, to the court of his father; and bowed before his feet, as he was drinking. Hiraṇyakaśipu desired his prostrate son to rise, and said to him: 'Repeat, boy, in substance, and agreeably, what during the period of your studies, you have acquired.' 'Hear, Sire,' replied Prahlāda, 'what, in obedience to your commands, I will repeat, the substance of all I have learnt. Listen attentively to that which wholly occupies

<sup>1</sup> The Garuḍa in the basrelief on western wall of the rock outside this cave is also represented as a full grown well proportioned male.

my thoughts. I have learnt to adore Him who is without beginning, middle, or end, increase or diminution; the imperishable lord of the World, the universal cause of causes.' On hearing these words, the sovereign of the Daityas, his eyes red with wrath, and lips swollen with indignation, turned to the preceptor of his son and said: 'Vile Brahman, what is this preposterous commendation of my foe, that, in disrespect to me, you have taught this boy to utter?' 'King of the Daityas,' replied the guru, 'It is not worthy of you to give way to passion. That which your son has uttered, he has not been taught by me.' 'By whom, then,' said Hiranyakaśipu to the lad, 'By whom has this lesson boy, been taught you? Your teacher denies that it proceeded from him.' 'Vishṇu, father,' answered Prahlāda, 'is the instructor of the whole world. What else should any one teach, or learn, save Him, the supreme spirit?' 'Away with the wretch' cried the king, 'Take him to his preceptor's mansion. By whom could he have been instigated to repeat the lying praises of my foe?'

"According to the commands of his father, Prahlāda was conducted, by the Daityas, back to the house of his guru, where, assiduous in attendance on his preceptor, he constantly improved in wisdom. After a considerable period had elapsed, the sovereign of the Asuras sent for him again, and, on his arrival in his presence, desired him to recite some poetical composition. Prahlāda immediately began: 'May he from whom matter and soul originate, from whom all that moves or is unconscious proceeds, he who is the cause of all this creation, Vishṇu, be favourable unto us.' On hearing which Hiranyakaśipu exclaimed; 'Kill the wretch. He is not fit to live. who is traitor to his friends, a burning brand to his own race. And his attendants, obedient to his orders, snatched up their weapons, and rushed in crowds, upon Prahlāda, to destroy him.....And, accordingly, although struck, heavily and repeatedly, by hundreds of the Daityas, the Prince felt not the least pain; and his strength was ever renewed. His father then endeavoured to persuade him to refrain from glorifying his enemy, and promised him immunity, if he would not be so foolish as to persevere. But Prahlāda replied, that he felt no fear, as long as his immortal guardian against all dangers was present in his mind, the re-collection of whom was, alone, sufficient to dissipate all the perils consequent upon birth or human infirmities.

"Hiranyakaśipu, highly exasperated, commanded the serpents to fall upon his disobedient and insane son, and bite him to death with their envenomed fangs. And, thereupon, the great snakes Kuhaka, Takshaka, and Andhaka, charged with fatal poison, bit the prince in every part of his body. But he, with thoughts immoveably fixed on Kṛishṇa, felt no pains from their wounds; being immersed in rapturous recollections of that divinity." ..... "Ho, elephants of the skies! exclaimed the Demon, Unite your tusks and destroy—this conspirer with my foes," .... "The young prince was then assailed by the elephants of the skies, as vast as mountain peaks, cast down upon the earth, and trampled on, and gored by their tusks. But he continued to call to mind 'Govinda'; and the tusks of the elephants were blunted against his breast.

"Then said the king to his attendants; 'Dismiss the elephants; and let fire consume him. And do thou, deity of the winds, blow up the fire; that this wicked wretch may be consumed.'" And the Dānavas piled a mighty heap of wood around the Prince, and kindled a fire, to burn him, as their master had commanded. But Prahāda cried "Father, this fire, though blown up by the winds, burneth me not."<sup>1</sup>

In this way Hiranyakaśipu tried various means to rid himself of his son who was a devotee of that enemy of his house, Viṣṇu, but he was always frustrated. Thus from the eighteenth chapter of the first book of the Viṣṇu *Purāṇa* we learn that the Daityas administered poison to Prahāda according to his father's commands but Prahāda digested all that too.<sup>2</sup> He then commanded the Priests of the Daitya-race to perform rites that will effect the destruction of Prahāda. These priests by their magic incarnation produced a female form entwined with fiery flame who "approached Prahāda and smote him with a fiery trident on the breast. In vain, for the weapon fell broken into hundred pieces upon the ground." "The magic, being then directed against the virtuous prince by the wicked priests, turned upon them and having quickly destroyed them, disappeared."<sup>3</sup> From the nineteenth chapter of the Viṣṇu *Purāṇa* we learn that Prahāda was bound in fetters, later on, by the command of his father and thrown into the sea.<sup>4</sup> While in the sea he was meditating upon Viṣṇu and when "through the force of his contemplation Prahāda had become one with Viṣṇu, the fetter with which he was bound burst instantly asunder; the ocean was violently uplifted and the monsters of the deep were alarmed; earth with all her forests and mountains trembled; and the Prince putting aside the rocks which the demons had piled upon him came forth from out the main."<sup>5</sup> Prahāda then met Viṣṇu and went to his father. "His father kissed him on the fore-head and embraced him. And that great Asura repented of his former cruelty and treated him with kindness."<sup>6</sup> Later on Hiranyakaśipu was killed by the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu details of which are to be found in the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa*.

From the second chapter of the seventh *skandha* of this *Purāṇa*, we learn, that when his elder brother Hiranyāksha was killed by the Lord during his boar incarnation, this Dānava (Hiranyakaśipu) became afflicted with sorrow and rage (1). He then asked his generals Dvimurddha, Tryaksha, Samvara, Śata-vāhu, Hayagrīva, Namuchi, Pāka, Ilvala, Viprachitti, Puloman, Śakuna, etc., to go to the earth and kill all good men, trees, etc. The Dānavas then went and destroyed cities, villages, pastures, gardens, cultivated fields, hermitages, etc., by burning them. (3-11). On account of the depredations of these followers of Hiranyakaśipu, the gods left Heaven and started roaming on the earth invisible. (14). From the third chapter we learn that in order to make

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* edited by Fitz-Edward Hall, London, 1865, Vol. II, pp. 34-39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid* p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid* p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p. 56.

himself invincible and immortal Hiranyakaśipu went to the mount Mandara and began to practice austerities (1-2). On account of his devotions the gods were obliged to leave the earth. They went to the regions of Brahmā and appealed to him, (5-10). Moved by the Gods Brahmā went to Mandara attended by Bhṛigu, Daksha and other Munis (11). Hiranyakaśipu then asked for the following boons:—

(1) That he should not meet his death from any created being, (2) that he should not meet his death by day or night or from any body created by Brahmā, neither that he should meet his death on earth or in the skies, (3) that he should not meet his death from any Sura, Asura, or snake, (4) that he should be given the supreme power over all incarnate beings and the powers of all the *Lokapālas* (30-33). Brahmā gave him these boons (VII. iv. 2). He conquered all the cardinal points and the three universes as well as the chiefs of all created beings (4-5). He, then, went and took up his abode in Heaven adorned with the gardens of the gods (6). Hiranyakaśipu had four sons, among whom Prahlāda was the worshipper of the Great Viṣṇu and became great on account of his virtues (20). The Asuras had chosen Śukra as their priest and two sons of Sukra named Shaṇḍa and Amarka lived near the Palace of Hiranyakaśipu (VII. v. 1). The King of the Daityas had sent Prahlāda to these two for instruction (2). One day Hiranyakaśipu asked his son after taking him on his lap what thing he considered good (3). Prahlāda said “Whoever leaves his home and goes to a forest to take shelter in Hari, that being he regards as the best of all, (4). He then asked his attendants to take the boy to the house of his teacher and directed that disguised Vaishnavas should not be allowed to approach the boy in order to mislead him (6). Some time later when his teachers came to understand that the boy had learnt the four different ways such as *Sāma Dāna*, etc., they took him again to the palace of the Daitya King. There Prahlāda’s father asked him to recite what he had learnt in the house of his teachers (17). Prahlāda told him some words in praise of Viṣṇu, on hearing which Hiranyakaśipu became very angry (18-19). On being interrogated, the sons of the Guru told him “O, King of Daityas, what your son has told you was not taught by me, nor was it taught to him by anybody else. His intelligence is naturally like this, therefore, please, be not angry and do not attribute faults to us unreasonably” (21). Hiranyakaśipu then asked Prahlāda “if this inauspicious state of mind is not due to the teaching of your preceptor then from what person have you received it”? (22). Prahlāda replied “by praising Viṣṇu” (21-25). Hiranyakaśipu then threw the boy from his lap and asked attendants to kill him (26-27). Prahlāda was sitting at that time and the Asuras having received the orders of their lord assailed him with spears (32). But Prahlāda was not injured by them. The Asuras then tried to kill him with the elephants who support the cardinal points, snakes and a fiery being (*Kṛityā*), by throwing him from the peaks of mountains, confining him in holes, by mixing poison with his food, by starvation, by ice, air, fire, water and by throwing mountains on him, (34). Having failed to kill Prahlāda the King of the Daityas became thoughtful and sorry. The two sons of Śukrā-

chārya came to him (39) and asked him to keep Prahlāda bound with the noose of Varuṇa, as long as Śukrāchārya does not return, (41). Hiranyakaśipu agreed to this and asked them to teach Prahlāda the law of kings who had taken the *Gārhaṣṭha Aśrama* (42). During his fresh residence with his teachers Prahlāda taught devotion to Viṣṇu to all Daitya boys. When Shaṇḍa and Amarka saw this, they became very much afraid and reported the matter to the Lord of the Daityas, (VII. viii. 2). On hearing this, the King of the Daityas became very angry, and tried to kill Prahlāda. Prahlāda started discoursing on the Lord. Hiranyakaśipu asked him in anger "You say that there is another Lord in the universe besides me. If he be, where is he? if he is everywhere, why is he not in this pillar?" On hearing this Prahlāda looked at the pillar and bowed down to it, telling him that the Lord was being seen inside the pillar, (11). Hiranyakaśipu could not see it and rose from his throne with his sword. He then struck at this pillar, at which Prahlāda was looking, with his fist. As soon as he struck that pillar with his fists a terrific sound issued from it, (12-13). On hearing the sound Hiranyakaśipu looked towards the four sides and then saw the man-lion issuing from the pillar (16). Hiranyakaśipu attacked the man-lion with his mace (21). The Lord caught hold of him but Hiranyakaśipu escaped, and having rested a while, took his sword and attacked the man-lion once more (23-25). The man-lion then caught hold of him again, though the Asura tried his best to escape and having placed him on his thighs tore open his entrails with his nails, as the Garuḍa tears open a big poisonous snake (27).

Each of the lintels in the verandah of this cave which are supported either by pillars or pilasters, bears a long and elaborate basrelief on the interior. The lintels, supported by the pilasters on both sides of this verandah, are also carved and bear basreliefs, which is not the case with such lintels either in Cave No. I or in Cave No. II. There are seven openings in the front of this cave and consequently on the front and rear lintels we have fourteen basreliefs. These fourteen, together with one at each end, altogether make sixteen basreliefs. Out of these sixteen seven basreliefs are devoted to the representation of the *Kṛishṇa-Charitra*, all of which are towards the front side of the verandah. The lintel on the east or left end bears three miscellaneous scenes while those on the rear can be divided into two parts. Six of them represent the story of the churning of the ocean, while the last one represents the fight between Viṣṇu and Indra for the divine flower, Pārijāta. The lintel on the west or right end of the verandah contains a scene which is rather difficult to identify. It may have connection either with the churning of the ocean or with the birth of Kṛishṇa. In any case, there is no doubt about the fact, that one of the narratives begins from this place. Beginning from the left end of this basrelief, we find Viṣṇu lying on Śeṣha, on the sea of milk, the waves of which are indicated by curved lines at the extreme left corner of the sunken panel. Brahmā is seated on a lotus, the stalk of which issues from the navel of Viṣṇu. Two men are standing behind Viṣṇu. To the right of this scene we find Garuḍa rushing towards the right, while two men are following him

with offerings or some heavy objects. To the right of Garuḍa, two men are wrestling with each other, while a third is standing as a spectator. To the right of this group, again, we find two bulls fighting, one of which is being urged on by a male standing to their left. On the extreme right of the basrelief we find Viṣṇu standing. He can be recognised by his wheel in the upper left, the mace in the lower and the conch in the upper right hand. Two men are standing facing Viṣṇu. According to the late Pandit Bhagavan Lal Indraji, whose account was reproduced by the late Dr. Burgess, in his article on the "Rock cut temples at Badami," the persons wrestling to the right of Garuḍa represent the wicked kings who oppressed the earth and rendered a new incarnation necessary " . . . Beyond them two persons are opposing an ox (there are two oxen and not one) a representation perhaps of Dharmma (religion) and a cow or Pṛithu—the Earth."<sup>1</sup> On the whole this basrelief seems to be connected with the Kṛiṣṇa-līlā, rather than with the narrative of the churning of the ocean.

The next basrelief is at the right or west end of the verandah. The long narrow panel contains eleven seated figures among whom we find Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu. Beginning from the left, four figures are seated facing the right. The foremost figure among this group is Viṣṇu, as is indicated by the wheel in the upper left and the conch in the upper right hand. In front of him is Śiva, also with four hands, holding a battleaxe in his upper right hand, while to his right is Brahmā indicated by his four heads. Five more figures are seated to the right of Brahmā. This scene has been correctly identified by the late Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji as the consultation of the gods about the churning of the ocean, the narrative of which as given in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, together with such variations as we find in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, has already been quoted above. This basrelief proves that all of the *Purāṇas* were either ignored by the sculptor or a different variety of the story was in vogue in this part of Western India. In the first place, here we find Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva present, whereas in the *Purāṇas*, we find the gods approaching Brahmā in the first place and then Viṣṇu, according to the latter's advice and with him as their leader. Nowhere in the narratives do we find Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva seated in solemn conclave together with the other gods. The only incident which it may represent is the assembly of all the gods including Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, on the banks of the sea of milk, immediately before the final churning.

Proceeding towards the left or the east, we find on the next basrelief another portion of the same scene. Beginning from the left we find two men binding a snake round a pillar on the top of which is a seated figurine. To the right of this we find five divine figures seated on the ground. The figure on the extreme left has two hands and to his right is Brahmā, holding a rosary in the upper left hand, while Śiva is to the right of Brahmā holding a drum (*ḍamaru*) in the upper left and a battleaxe (*paraśu*) in the upper right. Two other gods are seated to his right. On the extreme right of the panel, we find

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 365

a boar-headed Asura<sup>1</sup> and a four-armed god binding a three headed snake round Mandara, on the top of which is that seated figurine, the presence of which has not been explained in any of the Purāṇas. The binding of the Mandara at both ends of this basrelief seems to represent two different incidents in the story of the churning of the ocean. That on the left represents the Asuras holding on to the tail side and gods holding on to the head side. This was intentionally done by Viṣṇu so that the gods may not be hurt by the poisonous fumes issuing from the mouth of the great snake. The Asuras, seeing the gods taking up the head-side or hearing that they intended to do so, thought that this must be an act of valour and asked Viṣṇu to give them the head-side, which fulfilled the expectations of that deity.<sup>2</sup> The same representation on the right end represents the inability of the gods and Asuras combined to churn the ocean without any support at the bottom. Consequently, Viṣṇu taking compassion on them, assumed the form of a tortoise and supported Mandara during the entire churning operation.<sup>3</sup> On the next basrelief we find mount Mandara placed on the back of the Tortoise and on the top of Mandara, the seated figurine. The Asuras are towards the right or towards the head-side, being eight in number, while the same number of gods are to be found on the tail or left side. Another miniature figurine is to be seen, seated with its back towards Mandara and this perhaps represents Śrī or Lakṣmī, who rose as a result of the churning of the Ocean. It may be noted that in the representation of the same scene in Cave No. II, we find Uchchaiśravas in addition to this figure, who was also a product of the churning of the ocean.

The next two panels represent the theft of the jar of nectar by Garuḍa an incident which is described in detail in the *Āstika-parvādhyaḡya* of the Ādi-parva of the Mahābhārata. In the sixteenth section we are informed that Prajāpati had two fair daughters named Kadru and Vinatā, who were married to Kaśyapa. Kadru wished to have one thousand snakes as her sons and Vinatā wished to bring forth two sons surpassing the thousand sons of Kadru in strength, energy, size and prowess. After a long time Kadru brought forth a thousand eggs and Vinatā two. Their maid servants deposited the eggs separately in warm vessels. After five hundred years the thousand eggs produced by Kadru burst and a thousand snakes were produced. Vinatā being jealous broke one of the eggs in which the upper part was still undeveloped. The child in this egg became angry and cursed his mother that she should serve as a slave and asked her to wait for five hundred years more. Thus having cursed his mother he rose to the sky and became the charioteer of Sūrya, who is known as Aruṇa. At the expiration of five hundred years, Garuḍa was born out of the other egg. He, feeling extremely hungry, took to his wings to seek for food.<sup>4</sup> In the next section we are told that about this time

<sup>1</sup> A similar boar-headed figure is to be seen attacking Trivikrama in the larger basreliefs representing the incidents of the *Vāmana* incarnation both in this cave and in Cave No. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhāgavata Purāṇa VIII. vii, 3.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid, VIII, vi, 32.*

<sup>4</sup> This is a summary of Mr. Protap Chundra Roy's translation, *Vol. I. pp. 76-77.*



the two sisters Kadru and Vinatā saw Uchchaisravas approaching them. There was a difference of opinion among the two sisters about the colour of this horse; Vinatā thinking that it was white and Kadru thinking that its tail was black. They laid a wager that whoever loses the bet should become the slave of the other. During the night Kadru, bent upon winning the wager even by deception, asked her thousand sons to transform themselves into black hairs and cover the horse's tail in order to make it black. The snakes having refused Kadru cursed them.<sup>1</sup> Next morning Kadru and Vinatā went to see the horse Uchchaisravas<sup>2</sup> (Section xxi). In the meanwhile, the snakes after debate, arrived at the conclusion that they should do their mother's bidding, so that she may graciously free them from her curse and having decided to do so, they went and became black hairs in the horse's tail<sup>3</sup> (Section xxii). The sisters soon alighted near the horse and saw its body, white as the rays of the moon, but having black hairs in the tail. Then Kadru put Vinatā into slavery. At this time Garuḍa was born<sup>4</sup> (Section xxiii). When Garuḍa returned to his mother's side he found Vinatā in a state of slavery. Kadru asked Vinatā to take her to the region of the Nāgas and then the mother of Garuḍa carried the mother of the snakes and Garuḍa himself, according to his mother's directions, carried on his back all the snakes,<sup>5</sup> (Section xxv). The snakes having arrived in the region of the Nāgas, began to enjoy themselves. They commanded Garuḍa to carry them to other places. Garuḍa, after reflecting for a few moments, asked his mother, why he was asked to do the bidding of the snakes. Vinatā told him the story of the loss of her wager. When he heard this, he asked the snakes how he could free his mother from the state of bondage; whereupon the snakes asked him to bring *amṛita* by force<sup>6</sup> (Section xxvii). Garuḍa, then, told his mother that he was going to bring the nectar, (xxviii). After having appeased his hunger by eating "the tortoise and the elephants" and *nishādas* (Sections xxviii-xxx) Garuḍa rose on his wings. About this time "various omens began to appear among the gods foreboding fear. Indra's thunderbolt blazed up in fright," the weapons of the various gods "began to spend their forces against one another. Such things had never happened even during the war of the gods and the Asuras." Indra, perplexed with fear, at these disasters, asked Brihaspati about their cause, who told him that the son of Kaśyapa and Vinatā was approaching to take away the *Soma* and that the bird was quite able to rob the gods of the *Soma*. Indra having, heard this, took the necessary precautions. The gods stood surrounding the *Amṛita* and Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, stood with them<sup>7</sup> (Section xxx). As the gods stood in battle array, Garuḍa came to them and out of fear, these

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, section xx, pp. 83-84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 102-03.

gods began to strike one another with all their weapons. Among those that guarded the Soma was Bhaumana (? *Vohuman*), the celestial architect. After a terrific encounter with Garuḍa, he lay unconscious on the field. Then Garuḍa darkened the atmosphere with dust, raised by the hurricane of his wings and overwhelmed the gods with it, who swooned away. When the gods, who guarded the *Amṛita*, could no longer see, being blinded by the dust, Garuḍa mangled them with his wings and beak. Then Indra commanded Vāyu to dispel the dust and the dust disappeared. The Gods attacked Garuḍa. Overcome by Garuḍa the Gods fled in different directions. Garuḍa then fought with the Yakshas and deprived them of life. He then went to the place where the nectar was kept and saw that it was surrounded on all sides with fire. Garuḍa assumed ninety times ninety mouths and soon, drinking in many rivers with those mouths, extinguished that fire. Then he assumed a very small form, desirous of entering the place where the nectar was kept<sup>1</sup> (xxxii). There, Garuḍa saw that a wheel of steel, very sharp, was revolving incessantly around the *Soma*. Seeing a passage through it, he diminished his body and in an instant passed through the spokes of that wheel. Within the line of the wheel, he saw two great snakes, stationed for guarding the Soma. Garuḍa suddenly covered their eyes with dust and unseen by them attacked them from all sides. Having cut them to pieces, the son of Vinatā took the *Amṛita* from the place where it was kept, and rose on his wings with great speed. He broke the machines that had surrounded the *Soma* and then rose to the skies, where he met Vishṇu. As Garuḍa had not drunk the nectar himself, Vishṇu was gratified with his self-sacrifice. Garuḍa was, then, given the right of staying above Vishṇu, becoming immortal and free from disease, without drinking the *Amṛita*. Vishṇu asked him to be his vehicle (*vāhana*) and made him sit on the flag-staff of his chariot.

When Garuḍa was flying through the air, Indra hurled his thunderbolt at him. Out of respect for the Rishi Dadhichī, from whose bones the thunderbolt was made, Garuḍa cast a single feather, not having felt the slightest pain when the thunderbolt struck him<sup>2</sup> (Section xxxii). Indra then asked for his friendship and requested him to desire a boon, and Indra gave him the boon that all the snakes should become Garuḍa's food. He told Garuḍa, as he did not desire to use the *Soma* himself, it should be returned to him. Garuḍa then explained the reason for which he was taking away the *Soma* and that he will not allow any one to drink the *Soma*. He also told Indra that he might take away the *Soma* as soon as he put it down. Indra having agreed to this, Garuḍa brought the jar of nectar to his mother. He informed all the snakes that he had brought the nectar and was going to place it on some *Kuśa* grass so that the snakes may drink it after having performed their ablutions and religious rites. The snakes then went to perform their ablutions and Indra taking the *Amṛita* went to Heaven. The snakes, when they

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 107-08.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.

returned, saw that the bed of Kuśa grass, on which the nectar had been placed, was empty. Garuḍa thus freed his mother.<sup>1</sup>

On the fourth basrelief from the left we find a jar (*kalasa*) placed on a round object in the centre. On both sides of it the gods are standing in battle array while Garuḍa is approaching them from the extreme left. Among the gods we find one standing with a mace on the extreme left, who is perhaps Yama, then comes another, after whom we see Śiva standing beside his bull. Between Śiva and the preceding figure we find the bust of another. After another god we see Viṣṇu who is to be recognised by his conch and wheel. Then we see another god standing by the side of the *kalasa*. This probably represents Bhaumana, the divine architect. To the left of the *kalasa* we find Varuṇa seated on his *Makara*. To the right of Varuṇa there are six other figures all with various arms, representing the army of the gods, guarding the nectar. The narrative is then continued in the next basrelief. On the extreme left we see the jar of nectar on a pillar. To its right Garuḍa is flying towards the right. In front of him is a god with four hands and holding a sword and a shield in two of his hands. Behind him another on horse back. Another god behind the horseman is shooting arrows at Garuḍa. In the right half of the panel we see Garuḍa on the extreme left with the jar in his hands, flying to the left. Behind him is a man with a sword and Indra on the back of Airāvata, the divine elephant. Behind Indra another god is rushing towards the left with a sword and a shield. The left half of the panel represents the defeat of the celestial host by Garuḍa and his access to the *Soma* and the right half, Garuḍa escaping with the nectar and Indra following him and throwing his thunderbolt at him.

The sixth panel represents the terrible fight between the Gods and Asuras after the churning of the Ocean. The Gods are to be found on the right proceeding towards the left and the Asuras towards the left, in full flight towards the left, though still fighting. In front of the divine army we find some foot soldiers, behind whom is Indra on his elephant, Airāvata; then comes Agni on his ram, Yama on his buffalo and Varuṇa on his *Makara*, while in front of these we find seven foot soldiers representing the divine army. There is not a single dead or wounded on this side. On the left half is a man on horseback flying towards the left, though shooting arrows towards the right. In front of him is a man on an elephant, who is perhaps Bali, the king of the Asuras, and on the extreme left, another horseman running away to the left, though shooting arrows towards the right. The ground in front of these two horses and the elephant is strewn with dead bodies. Figures of foot soldiers, flying towards the left, appear in the interspaces between the horsemen and the rider on the elephant. This scene has been wrongly identified by Bhagwan Lal Indraji and Burgess as the fight of Kṛishṇa and the gods for the Pārijāta flower, described below. Burgess states that "the first scene represented, perhaps, beings on the last section of the 7th plate, where we have first,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 111-12.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 111-12.

Kṛishṇa as Vishnu resting beside the Pārijāta tree, with Garuḍa beside him and several other figures among whom are doubtless his wives Satyabhāmā and Rukmiṇī, and the sage Nārada under the tree; then he is shown mounted on Garuḍa; and thirdly going out to do battle with an army of Indra in which some of his numerous opponents are Agni, Varuṇa, Yama, etc., mounted on elephants and on horses, continued also through the first section of the 6th plate." The paper was evidently written long after Dr. Burgess's visit to Badami, when he had forgotten the exact arrangement of the basreliefs from the drawings. In fact this battle scene cannot have any reference to the bas-relief on the last lintel, on the left in the rear on which the *Pārijāta-haraṇa* is depicted, because in the first place we have the same subject depicted in the same place in Cave No. II where the *Pārijāta-haraṇa* has not been represented and in the second place, the basrelief in Cave No. III represents the gods led by Indra, Yama, Agni and Varuṇa as victorious over their opponents, a fact which proves that it cannot have any connection with the *Pārijāta-haraṇa*, where, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa and the Harivamśa, the gods were defeated by their opponent, Kṛishṇa.

The last panel *i.e.* the one on the extreme left of the verandah, represents the dispute between Kṛishṇa and Indra about the divine flower, Pārijāta. The story is given at length in the Vishṇu Purāṇa and in a very short form in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. In the twentieth chapter of the fifth book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa we find that, Kṛishṇa, having vanquished the Demon Nāraka, went with Satyabhāmā to Heaven, to restore the ear-rings of Aditi, the mother of the gods. When this had been done, Indra saluted Kṛishṇa and took him and Satyabhāmā through the Nandana and other pleasant gardens of the gods where Keśava . . . . . saw the Pārijāta tree, the favourite of Śachī, which was produced when the ocean was churned for ambrosia: the bark was of gold; and it was embellished with young sprouting leaves of a copper colour and fruit stalks, bearing numerous clusters of fragrant fruit. When Satyabhāmā noticed this tree she said to her beloved Lord, Govinda "Why should not this divine tree be transported to Dvārakā? If what you say is true and I am really dear to you, then let this tree be taken away from hence and planted in the garden of my dwelling." Thus solicited by his favourite wife, Hari smiled upon her and taking the Pārijāta plant, put it upon Garuḍa. The keepers of the garden (remonstrated and) said "The Pārijāta tree belongs to Śachī, the queen of the sovereign of the Gods. It is not proper, Govinda, for you to remove it." Satyabhāmā then told them that as it was produced at the time of churning the ocean it belonged in common to all the world. She asked them to inform Śachī that she was taking away the tree and if she is the beloved wife of her Lord and if her husband is obedient to her authority let him prevent Satyabhāmā's husband from carrying off this tree. The keepers of the garden went and reported to Śachī what had happened. Śachī then told these things to her husband and incited him to resent this affront. Indra accordingly went with the army of celestials to attack Hari and defend the Pārijāta tree. As soon as Kṛishṇa saw the gods advancing against him, he

blew on his conch shell and started shooting arrows at them. Then began the battle. Garuḍa also helped in the fight. When, after having vanquished the other gods, Kṛishṇa and Indra came face to face, Indra's thunderbolt could not injure Kṛishṇa, but Kṛishṇa did not throw his *Sudarśana Chakra* at Indra. Then Satyabhāmā, becoming suddenly generous, offered the tree back to Indra. Indra then eulogised Kṛishṇa (Chapter xxx), and asked Kṛishṇa to take the Pārijāta tree to Dvārakā.<sup>1</sup> "When Kṛishṇa arrived over Dvārakā he blew his shell and delighted all the inhabitants with the sound. Then alighting from Garuḍa, he proceeded with Satyabhāmā to her garden and there planted the Pārijāta Tree, the smell of which perfumed the earth for three furlongs, and an approach to which enabled every one to recollect (the events of) a prior existence; so that on beholding their faces in the tree, the Yādavas contemplated themselves in their (original) celestial forms."<sup>2</sup> The most elaborate account of the *Pārijāta-haraṇa* is to be found in the *Vishṇu-parvāṇ* of the *Hari-vamśa-purāṇa*, where ten chapters are devoted to the description of this incident and where the details are different from those narrated above. When returning from heaven, after restoring the ear-rings of Aditi to her, Kṛishṇa and Satyabhāmā saw the Pārijāta tree (lxiv-65-66) Vishṇu having uprooted it, placed it on Garuḍa (68). Kṛishṇa then went to Dvārakā (71).<sup>3</sup> The King (Kṛishṇa) went with the lady Rukmiṇī to Raivataka (lxv-4). When Kṛishṇa was seated with his wife (Rukmiṇī) the sage Nārada came there (12). The younger brother of Indra, having seen the Muni, received him with honours according to the law. The sage then presented a flower of the Pārijāta tree to Kṛishṇa (14). Hari gave the flower of the king of trees to Rukmiṇī (15), who placed it on her head (16). The next twenty-six verses are devoted to a speech of Nārada in the earlier part of which he praises the divine flower and in the latter part sows the seed of a domestic difference of opinion by extolling Rukmiṇī and by telling her of the great honour done to her in preference to her other co-wives (18-43). This speech of Nārada was heard by spies sent by Satyabhāmā (44). Satyabhāmā, the favourite wife of Kṛishṇa, on hearing of this incident became very jealous (49-50). She then discarded her fine dress of white silk and other fineries and entered the room of rage (*Krodha-griha*), having bound a piece of white cloth on her forehead, which is the sign of rage among lovers (51-54). The rest of the chapter is devoted to the description of Satyabhāmā's rage. In the next chapter we are told that Keśava, seeing the sage sitting with Rukmiṇī, went out and sent Pradyumna to attend on Nārada (lxvi-1-5). He saw from a distance Satyabhāmā in the room of rage and the next four verses describe the condition of Satyabhāmā (7-11). The remainder of this chapter and the first thirty-six verses of the 67th chapter are devoted to the description of the pacification of Satyabhāmā by Kṛishṇa. In the end Kṛishṇa says "If you wish it, I shall bring the Pārijāta from heaven and place it in your house, keeping it as long as you desire" (lxvii-

<sup>1</sup> Wilson *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, edited by Fitz-Edward Hall, London, 1865, Vol. V, pp. 97-103.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> The narrative in the 64th Chapter appears to be a summary of the later chapters.

31-32). With this promise, Satyabhāmā was pacified (36). Kṛishṇa then bathed (37), worshipped the sage Nārada with Satyabhāmā (39), the latter washing Nārada's feet with water poured by Kṛishṇa himself (40), the sage was fed with *Param-ānna* (41). Satyabhāmā then went to another room according to Kṛishṇa's orders (47). Nārada told Kṛishṇa that he was going to the regions of Indra to attend a monthly festival held there by the *Gandharvas* in honour of the God Mahādeva (50-52). The remainder of the verses in this chapter are devoted to the description of the origin of the Pārijāta flower. In the beginning of the sixty-eighth chapter, Kṛishṇa told Nārada to bear a message to Indra, asking him to give the Pārijāta tree for a short time to his wife (1-8). Nārada told him in reply, "I shall tell this to the Lord of the Suras, O chief of the Yadus, but he will never give the Pārijāta" (12). In the next eighteen verses Nārada praises the Pārijāta tree and the mountain Mandara. Kṛishṇa then told Nārada that he was the younger brother of Indra and as such should be treated as Indra's son Jayanta (33). He also asked Nārada to please Indra and told him of his promise to bring the Pārijāta tree (35) which must be kept (37-38), concluding with the words. "If Indra will not give the Pārijāta at your request then I shall have to throw my mace at his breast" (39). From the next chapter we learn that Nārada went to Heaven and passed the night there to see the festival (lxix-1). The next seventeen verses describe the assembly where Indra was seated and which Nārada entered (2-18). Nārada then told Indra that he had come as Viṣṇu's ambassador (20). Asked by Indra as to what the message of Viṣṇu was, Nārada told him about his visit to Raivataka, the gift of the Pārijāta flower and his own statements and how he had been asked by Viṣṇu to bring the Pārijāta tree to please Indra's younger brother's wife (24-36). Indra said in reply: "The Pārijāta and other jewels belong to Achyuta, who has gone to the earth to release her burden and there lives as a man in all ways. The jewels of the heaven should not be taken to the earth for a trifling reason (42-45). The rules of the universe were made by Brahmā with his sons and grandsons. They cannot be transgressed. If the Pārijāta is taken for the sake of a woman, the inhabitants of the heaven will become despondent (47-50). Kṛishṇa's subservience to a woman will cause (his) infamy to spread in the universe" (54). Indra then adduces various reasons against taking the Pārijāta tree to the earth and finally states that he is willing to give any amount of jewels and other ornaments but not the Pārijāta (73). Nārada in the next (lxx) chapter tells Indra that he has already told Kṛishṇa about it, knowing his (Indra's) opinion, and that formerly he had refused to give it to Śiva (3). The reasons were stated by him repeatedly (6). Then Kṛishṇa became enraged and told him "if Indra does not give me the Pārijāta I shall strike at his heart with my mace" (9). Indra, hearing Nārada's saying, became very angry (12) and started to recount the wrongs done to him by Kṛishṇa. "In the burning of the Khāṇḍava (forest) my clouds were prevented from quenching the furious fire (15). By holding up Mt. Govardhana, he has done ill to me, and in the killing of Vṛittra I had appealed to him for help. 'I am equal to all' was

what he told to all created beings and I had to slay Vṛittra without help, relying on the strength of my own arms. In the wars of the Suras and the Asuras Kṛishṇa fights according to his own wish (15-18)." Indra then speaks against female influence and says that in love he was Kṛishṇa's elder brother but in a fight, as a king, he will strike in front at his enemies (whoever they be) (35). Unless the wielder of the discus conquers him in fight he (Indra) will not give the Pārijāta. "O best of sages (47) even to-day you go to Dvārakā, protected by Kṛishṇa, and tell me what he says in answer" (48-49). In the first fortyfour verses, of the seventy-first chapter, Nārada praises Viṣṇu and tries to pacify Indra (lxxi-1-44). Indra states in reply that Kṛishṇa ought to respect his elder brother (50-53). Nārada then came to the city protected by the bull of the Yadus (54). He saw Nārāyaṇa in his own palace seated with Satyabhāmā (lxxii.1-2). On being asked by him about the Pārijāta tree, Nārada told him everything in detail (5-6). On hearing Nārada's account, Kṛishṇa told him, that he would go to *Amarāvati* the following day, and then went to the sea with the former (7-8). There Kṛishṇa told Nārada to go to Heaven once more and to tell Indra that in battle he ought not to stay in front of him and that in bringing the Pārijāta he will certainly see Kṛishṇa. Thus commanded by Kṛishṇa, Nārada went to heaven and reported to Indra what Kṛishṇa had said (11). Then Indra asked Brihaspati and the latter chided Indra for having acted contrary to good manners since the latter went to the abode of Brahmā (12-16). Indra then told Brihaspati in reply: "What has been done to-day has been done. Kindly do what ought, now, to be done." (17). Brihaspati, having thought for some time, with bowed head, told Indra to go and fight with Janārdana, in company with his son and that he will do what is proper (18-19). The former then went to the ocean of milk and told everything to the sage Kaśyapa (20). Kaśyapa became angry and told Brihaspati that the fault was Indra's (21-22). Kaśyapa went with his wife Aditi to Śiva (26). The next thirty-three verses (28-60) are a eulogy on Śiva. Being pleased with the praise, Śiva saw Kaśyapa and told him, that both Indra and Upendra were gods, that the Pārijāta will be taken away by Janārdana and that the fault was Indra's (62-64). He then asked Kaśyapa to go with Aditi and Dākshāyaṇī to the abode of Indra, for the good of his children. Kaśyapa, having heard Hara, saluted him and went to Heaven (66).

As soon as the sun rose on the next day Viṣṇu went to the Raivataka Mountain on the pretext of hunting. Sātyaki was placed on one chariot and Pradyumna was directed to follow (lxxiii.1-2). Having arrived at Raivataka Kṛishṇa told Dārūka, the charioteer, to wait for half a day. Then the Lord rode on Garuḍa with Sātyaki while Pradyumna was placed on another chariot. (3-6). Hari reached the garden of Nandana in a very short time (7) and saw the fighting men of the gods with various arms (8). In their sight Garuḍa uprooted the Pārijāta tree with ease. Then he went round the city of the gods (12). The keepers of the tree went to report to Indra (13), who mounted on Airāvata and having placed his son Jayanta on a chariot and arrived at the gate to find that Keśava had arrived before him. Indra asked, "O Madhusūdana



how is this?" Keśava saluted Śakra from the back of Garuḍa and told him "Your younger brother's wife is having this tree carried off for some work of merit." Śakra said in reply, "Do not do so Achyūta. This tree cannot be taken away without fighting" (14-17). Kṛishṇa then attacked Indra's elephant with sharp arrows (19). The fight began between Kṛishṇa, Sātyaki and Pradyumna on one side and Indra and Jayanta on the other. A friend of Indra named Pravara, a Brāhmaṇa, joins Indra's side in the fight (30-31).

The whole of the seventy-third chapter is devoted to the description of this conflict. Indra attacked Garuḍa with arrows and he in his turn attacked Indra's elephant, which fell from heaven to the Pāriyātra Mountain (84-91). Kṛishṇa also followed with the Pārijāta tree on Garuḍa (93). When Airāvata was quieted the fight began again (94). Kṛishṇa then ordered Pradyumna to go to Dvārakā and bring his chariot, also to tell Balabhadra and the king of the Kukuras that having defeated Indra he would return the next day. The chariot from Dvārakā was brought in an instant (105). From the seventy-fourth chapter we learn that Kṛishṇa went to the Pāriyātra Mountain on the chariot where the lord of the Suras waited on Airāvata (lxxiv.1). He was followed by Garuḍa bearing the Pārijāta tree with Pradyumna and Sātyaki on his back (5). Viṣṇu, seeing that Airāvata was seriously wounded, asked Indra to postpone the fight till the next day, to which proposal Indra assented (8-9). Then Brahmā, Kaśyapa, Aditi and all the gods and *munis* came to that place (11). Kṛishṇa, pleased with the Pāriyātra Mountain, gave it a boon (14), and started praying to Śiva (19). The next fifteen verses contain Kṛishṇa's eulogy of Śiva (20-34). Śiva, extending his right hand, spoke to Viṣṇu (35). The fight was resumed later on (lxxv.1-4). Then Brahmā asked Kaśyapa to go and stop the battle, accompanied by Aditi (20). Seeing Kaśyapa with Aditi, both parties descended from their chariots. They were then pacified by Kaśyapa (24-27). Kaśyapa, Aditi, Indra and Viṣṇu then proceeded in one Vimāna to heaven. The next morning Aditi told Kṛishṇa to take the Pārijāta tree to Dvārakā and to return it later on to Nandana (37-39). Kṛishṇa then started for Dvārakā and reached Raivataka Mountain with his son and Sātyaki (41-45). From Raivataka, Kṛishṇa sent word, that having brought the Pārijāta tree from Indra, he proposed to enter Dvārakā in state and asked the city to be decorated (46-48). Kṛishṇa enters Dvārakā, sees Vasudeva and Devakī, honours the Yādava elders (61) and then goes to the abode of Satyabhāmā (63).

In the basrelief we find the battle between Kṛishṇa and Indra and other gods on the right. In this section, which is separated from the other two sections by a narrow raised vertical band, Kṛishṇa is seated on Garuḍa at the left shooting arrows towards the right. On the right side we find Indra on his elephant surrounded by the army of the gods. In front of him there is a man shooting arrows at Kṛishṇa and another brandishing a sword or mace. In front of the elephant, one man has fallen on the ground, injured, while behind him stands another with a club. Behind the elephant and Indra one god is rushing to the battle with a mace and below him is another god armed with either a sword or a mace. The small panel in the centre of the bas-

relief shows Kṛishṇa on the back of Garuḍa flying to the left with the Pārijāta tree, and represents the transportation of the divine plant to the terrestrial regions. The long panel in the left half of the basrelief shows the Pārijāta tree in the centre with a female kneeling to its left. On the extreme left two females are standing with vases and on the right we find Kṛishṇa seated on the ground with a dwarf to his left and a female attendant to his right. This part of the basrelief represents the Pārijāta tree planted in Kṛishṇa's garden at Dvārakā with Satyabhāmā tending it.

The basrelief on the single lintel at the left or east end of the verandah is divided into three equal parts. The scene on the extreme left most probably represents the *Subhadrā-haraṇa* by Arjuna. It is a battle scene with Viṣṇu on Garuḍa on the extreme left shooting arrows towards the right. In front of Garuḍa there is another man also shooting towards the right. Behind Viṣṇu a man with a battleaxe advances towards the right. In front of the archer to the right of Viṣṇu two soldiers are also rushing towards the right. In the right half of the scene we find a chariot with three horses. There is a charioteer in front, sitting on the shaft of the chariot. It is impossible to distinguish whether this charioteer is a male or a female. Subhadrā, the sister of Kṛishṇa, drove Arjuna's chariot in his fight with Kṛishṇa after Subhadrā's elopement with the former. The rider in the chariot is also shooting arrows towards Viṣṇu. Two heads behind the rider on the chariot indicate that he has followers. In the central compartment we find Śrī or Lakshmī seated on a lotus. There are two elephants on each side, those in front are bringing jars of water in their trunks, while those at the back are pouring water from them over the head of the goddess. Two female attendants stand on each side with vases or trays in their hands. One attendant on the right holds a *chāmara* in addition. The compartment on the extreme right represents the killing of the demon Hiranyakaśipu by Viṣṇu in his Man-lion incarnation. The Man-lion is seated in the centre with the demon on his lap, and is engaged in tearing out his entrails with his hands. Two of Hiranyakaśipu's attendants, one on each side, are attacking him. At the extreme left corner of the compartment another vanquished attendant is seated on the ground. The heads of four standing attendants are to be seen on the left, and those of three on the right.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to the lintels representing the *Kṛishṇa-Charitra*. As has been stated in the case of the representations of this subject in Cave No. II, the basreliefs are not arranged in the sequence in which the events took place in the life of Kṛishṇa. Thus all the lintels on the front side of the verandah in this cave are occupied with the representation of the *Kṛishṇa-Charitra*, and naturally one expects the beginning to be either at the right or the left end, but instead of this the narrative begins on the second lintel from the left, i.e. the west. On this lintel, beginning from the extreme left, we find a house which represents the prison in which Kāṁsa imprisoned his sister Devakī and his brother-in-law Vasudeva. In front of this house, a male is seated on a

<sup>1</sup> See p. 37 *ante*.

cushion, with two attendants carrying fly-whisks on each side. This represents Kamsa talking to his brother-in-law, Vasudeva, who is seated on three cushions to his right. This part of the basrelief may represent the visit of Kamsa to the prison immediately after the birth of Kṛishṇa, and the former's repentance. To the left of this scene we find another house which represents the same prison out of which two men are walking to the right. In front of them are two trees and a sloping rock. A female figure is rushing down the sloping stone. This scene represents the agents of Kamsa carrying away and then killing Kṛishṇa's elder sister, by dashing her to pieces on a stone. The girl being of divine origin, immediately rose to the sky, after being slain, and predicted the death of Kamsa at the hands of Kṛishṇa. To the left of this is another tree. In the last part of the basrelief we find a man standing with a vase in his left hand, and another man standing facing him, to his right. A female and a male are standing side by side at the extreme left of the basrelief.

We must now turn to the basrelief at the extreme left of the front of the verandah. Here we find other early scenes of the Kṛishṇa-story. Beginning from the left we find the death of Pūtana. An emaciated female is seated on the ground, with hands thrown up in agony, while a child is sucking at her long thin emaciated breasts. To the right of this is the incident of the cart. The child Kṛishṇa is lying on a cradle kicking at a cart which has already been upturned. To the right of this we find a man holding a bull by the horns. This probably represents the killing of one of the demons, Vatsa or Arishta, an incident which happened later in the life of Kṛishṇa, but which has been represented here by mistake. To the right of this we find the incident of the deliverance of the sons of Kuvera, who had been converted into *Yamalārjjuna* trees, on account of a curse of the sage Nārada. We find the infant Kṛishṇa with his left hand thrown towards the left and the right hand drawn in front of his breast running towards the trees. In front of him are two trees, from the top of each of which appears a human head, indicating that the sons of Kuvera were assuming their normal forms, on being delivered from the curse by Kṛishṇa. On the extreme right we have the child Kṛishṇa whirling a bull by the leg, while running to the left. A palm tree appears on the extreme right of the basrelief. This also represents the killing of one of the demons, who assumed the form of a bull, this also being an incident which happened later in the life of Kṛishṇa. This basrelief measures 6' 2" in length and 11" in breadth.

On the third lintel from the left we find a number of early incidents of the life of Kṛishṇa. On the extreme left is Yaśodā lying on a bed with the child Kṛishṇa by her side. Busts of three women appear behind her, of whom the second holds a vase and a third a round object in their right hands. Five cows, in different positions to the right, signify that the event took place in Gokula. To the right of this group we find a female handing over a child to a male standing to her right. Two other men appear by the side of this man. On the extreme right of the basrelief we find a female standing, holding a child

in her arms. Behind her is a bull seated under a cave. This part of the scene does not agree with the *Kṛishṇa-Charitra* as given in the *Purāṇas*.

The next basrelief consists of two different parts. In the first part occurs the coronation of Kṛishṇa by Indra and the Gopīs. According to the Bhāgavata and Harivaṁśa *purāṇas*, Kṛishṇa was anointed by Indra after the incident of the Govardhana. The Harivaṁśa *purāṇa* devotes a long chapter to it (ch. 19 in the *Vishṇuparvan*); while in the Bhāgavata *Purāṇa*, Surabhi the divine cow, joins Indra in the *abhisheka* (*Skandha* X, ch. 27): but in none of them do we find any reference to females participating in the ceremony. Beginning from the left we find a female with a vase on her head going to the right, then comes another with an umbrella which she holds over the third, who holds a garland in her hands. The fourth is standing by the side of the fifth who holds a vase in her right hand. To their right a male is seated on the ground, while another male is pouring water over his head from a jar. To the right of this we find eight cows with two calves; one of the latter being fed by a man standing on the right. Then come five cows, to the right of which two men are seated on the ground; the next but one from the right feeding the nearest cow. The second part of the basrelief represents the life of Kṛishṇa in Gokula and in the pasture lands surrounding it. The entire basrelief is 8' 9" in length and 12" in height.

The next basrelief can be divided into three different parts. In the first part, we see Kṛishṇa holding up the mountain Govardhana to shelter the people of Gokula, and their flocks from the excessive rains caused by Indra. We find a tree on the extreme left and then Kṛishṇa holding up the mountain with both hands. To his right are a child and two cows. Behind the last cow, is a man driving it to the shelter of the rock (X. xxiv-xxv).<sup>1</sup> To the right of this scene, we see a man striking at an ass running towards him. This represents the slaughter of the demon Dhenuka, who had assumed the form of an ass, by Balarāma (X. xv.17-25).<sup>2</sup> To the left of the panel we see an elephant on the extreme right rushing with great force towards the left and Kṛishṇa standing on the left holding on to its head and striking at it with his left hand. This is the slaughter of the elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa sent by Kāṁsa to destroy Kṛishṇa (X-xliii-1-11.) Behind him stands Balarāma with a sword or mace in his left hand. This basrelief measures 7' 4" in length and 12" in height.

The next basrelief is divided into two compartments. the part on the left representing Kṛishṇa sporting with the Gopīs and the other the taming of the Nāga Kālīya. In the compartment on the left we find a man standing with a female on his right, then comes another female standing *en face*, while another female is going towards the right, with a club in her hand. To her right is Kṛishṇa, whom we recognise by the peculiar knot of hair. This part of the basrelief represents Kṛishṇa sporting with the females of Gokula. To the right we find Kṛishṇa standing with two uprooted lotus stalks in his hands. To the right of this, again, Kṛishṇa is attacking a Nāga who is however praying

<sup>1</sup> See *ante* p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

to him. Kṛishṇa holds the tail of the Nāga in his right hand. To the right of this Nāga are two Nāgīs, praying to Kṛishṇa. This represents the last scene in the taming of the Nāga Kālīya, when the latter praised Kṛishṇa and the former ordered him to go to the island of Ramanaka, having spared him at the intercession of his wives.<sup>1</sup> A narrow raised partition divides this part of the basrelief from the compartment on the right. In the other compartment, we find a female standing on the extreme left and a male standing to her right with his left hand raised aloft. These two figures represent the audience in the wrestling arena of Kaiṣa, the female is grieving over the unequal contest and the youth of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, while the male is urging on the wrestlers who are to be seen to their right. To their right again appears another visitor who also has his left hand raised over his head in excitement, or in urging the wrestlers to further efforts. To his right we find two men wrestling, while two more human figures are seen on the extreme right of the basrelief. This group of four wrestlers represents Kṛishṇa fighting with Chāṇūra, and Balarāma fighting with Muṣṭika, the two renowned wrestlers deputed by Kaiṣa to kill the brothers (X. xliii.1-4, 18-21). The basrelief measures 7' 8½" in length and 1' 2" in height.

The basrelief on the extreme right is divided into two parts by a round pilaster, in the centre. On the extreme left we find a man holding a plough. To his right is a man with four hands. This represents Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, as the man with four hands holds a wheel in his upper left and a conch in his upper right. In front of him stands another man. This part of the basrelief represents the entrance of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, with their friends of Gokula, into the wrestling arena in Mathurā. To the right of this group are two men wrestling and to their left is another man down on the ground. The bust of another male appears over the man who has fallen. This probably represents either the killing of the demon Kūṭa by Balarāma, or of Śala by Kṛishṇa himself, after the death of Muṣṭika and Chāṇūra, (Bhāgavata *Purāṇa* X. xliv.-22). In the compartment on the right we find a man seated on a cushion, on each side of whom stands a female attendant. To her left four men are standing, three of whom hold swords and are walking to the left. The fourth man stands facing the front. This scene is difficult to identify. It probably represents King Kaiṣa seated on the platform in the wrestling arena immediately before his death, ordering his men to go and remove the sons of Vasudeva from the city (24).

There is a sunken panel with a basrelief over all the pillars and pilasters in the rear wall of the veranda, as well as over the capitals of all pillars in the *maṇḍapa*. Most of them represent males and females in amorous postures.

The roof of the verandah and the roof of the *maṇḍapa* bears a number of basreliefs. The former is divided into seven rectangular panels by means of six lintels or beams carved out of the solid rock. The roof on the extreme left is divided into nine rectangular panels by means of raised ridges. Of these

<sup>1</sup> See ante p. 27.

panels the central one is square and bears a circular projection on which is carved a male seated on a *makara* with a mace in his left hand and a cup in his right hand *i.e.* Varuṇa. There is a female attendant on each side of this figure. The panels at the corners are also square in shape and contain flying figures of *gandharva*-couples. There are oblong panels on the four sides of the square in the centre. Of these, two contain semi-divine beings, the lower part of whose bodies are those of a bird (*Suparṇas*). The remaining two contain ornamental foliage. The next section of the roof to the right contains a large circle in relief containing one smaller concentric circle in the centre, with eight smaller circles in the interspaces, all within the larger circle. In the smaller circle in the centre Indra is seated on his elephant, Airāvata, with an attendant behind him, who holds an umbrella over his head. The smaller circles contain (1) a female seated by the side of a mound (?), (2) a female dancing, with a child by her side, also dancing, (3) a female seated, (4) two males dancing, (5) a female playing on a drum, (6) a female dancing, (7) a male and a female playing on a flute, (8) two females dancing. The third section on the right bears a circular panel enclosed by a raised ridge which contains a circular medallion in relief in the centre. Śiva is seated on his bull on this medallion. He has four hands, one of the left hands holding a battleaxe. There is an attendant figurine behind Śiva. There are four smaller circles in the area, three of which contain figures of dwarfs and the fourth a figure of Gaṇeśa. The central section bears a large circular medallion in relief inside a large circle, with eight circular medallions around the central one. On the central medallion is the figure of Viṣṇu, with four hands holding a wheel and a lotus in the left hands and a conch in the upper right hand. The remaining right hand is placed on the thigh of the god and a female is seated on each side, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī or Bhūmī. The smaller circles contain (a) two men on elephants (Indra), (b) a human figure on a ram (Agni), with an attendant behind him, (c) a human figure seated with a lion behind him, and an attendant to the left (Budha). (d) human figure on horse back with a ball in one hand (? Saturn), (e) Varuṇa on his *makara* with a noose (*Pāśa*) in his left hand, (f) Śiva on his bull, (g) Yama on his buffalo, (h) Brahmā on his goose, with four hands, holding a sacrificial ladle and a rosary in his left hands, while he holds a *kamaṇḍalu* in one right hand, the other being placed on the thigh. We find a similar arrangement on the adjoining roof to the right *i.e.* a large circle containing a circular medallion in the centre, with eight smaller circular panels arranged around this medallion, inside the larger circle. In this case we find Brahmā seated on the medallion on his *vāhana* the Goose. He has four hands and holds a sacrificial ladle and a rosary in his left hands and a *kamaṇḍalu* in one of the right hands. As in the case of the preceding panel, the other right hand is placed on the god's thigh. Four of the smaller circular panels contain alternately a *Gandharva* flying with his wife. In the remaining four we find the four *dikpālas* or guardian deities of the cardinal points. Thus we have Indra on his elephant, with an attendant behind him holding an umbrella over his head, Yama on his buffalo, with a similar attendant, Varuṇa on his

*makara* and Budha (?) on his lion, also with an umbrella bearer. In the last but one panel we have a similar arrangement with Varuṇa seated on his *makara* on the central medallion in the place of Brahmā. The smaller circular panels all round the central medallion each contain a flying pair of *Gandharvas*. The last panel on the extreme right does not bear any carving, but on the other hand bears traces of painting. One large circle with a smaller circle in the centre and several still smaller circles in the interspaces can be discerned at midday when the light is very strong.

There is a E shaped corridor between the veranda and the *maṇḍapa*, and in the centre of the roof of this there is a *Gandharva*-pair flying on a cloud. In the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* proper we find Brahmā riding on his *vāhana* the goose with four hands, holding a vase and a sacrificial ladle in the left hands and a rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the right hands. On eight sides of this medallion there are eight others. Four of these show *Gandharva*-couples placed alternately. On the east we have Indra on his elephant Airavata flying through clouds. There are two attendants behind him, one with a club and the other with an umbrella. To the south we find Yama on his buffalo with an attendant on each side, and on the west Varuṇa on his *makara*. To the north, *i.e.* in front of the temple, is Kārttikeya on his *vāhana*, the peacock, with an attendant on each side.

On the east side of the tank is a basrelief representing Viṣṇu on Śeṣha. This has been covered by a shrine, evidently built in the 12th or 13th century. To the north-east of this basrelief there is an unfinished cave inside which is an image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (?) on the wall. This figure is very difficult of access and covered with boulders.





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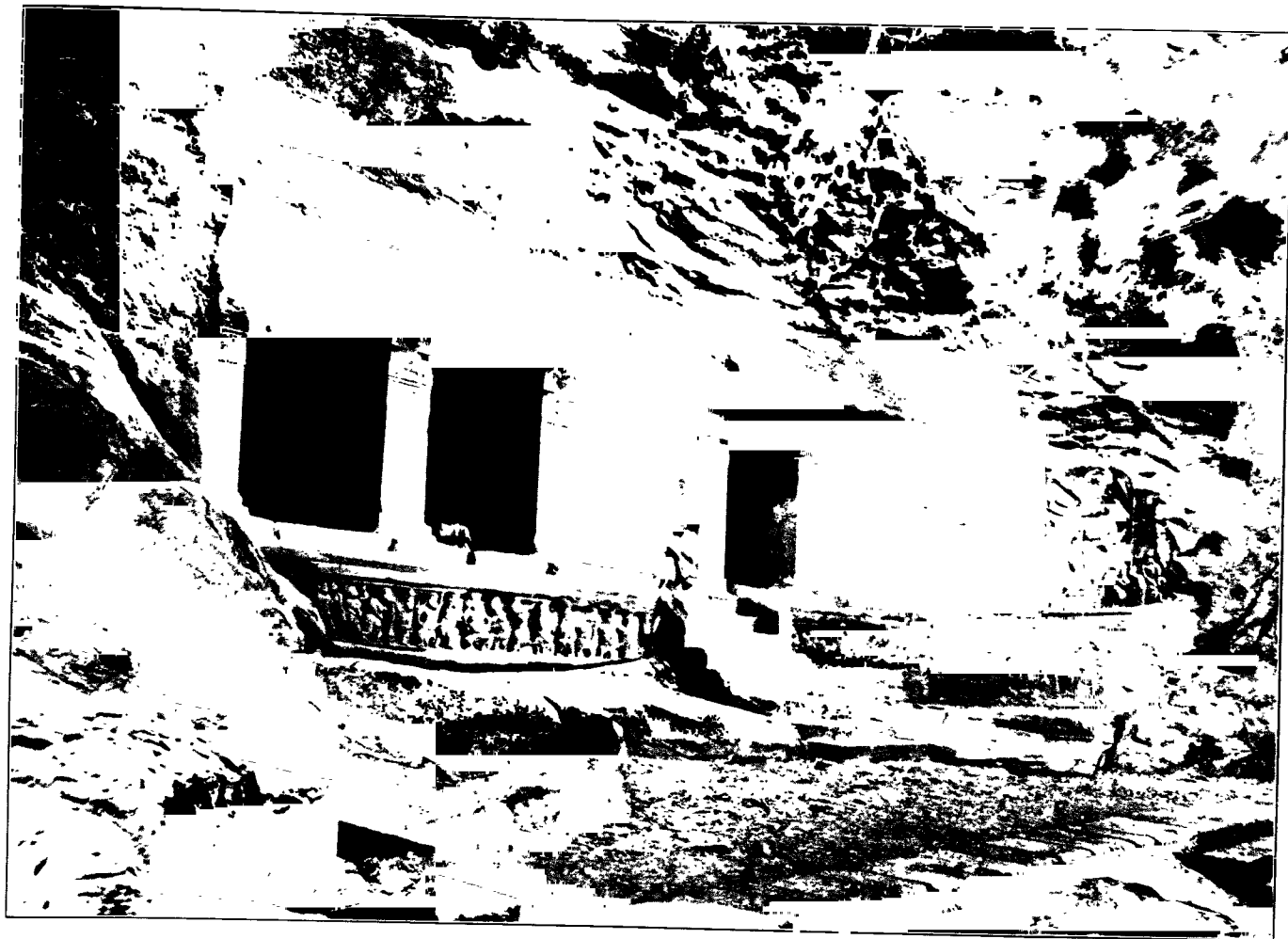
BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. I.



*a.* PILLARS IN VERANDAH.



*b.* BRACKETS OF CEILING.







a. SIVA DANCING.



b. MAHISHAMARDINI.

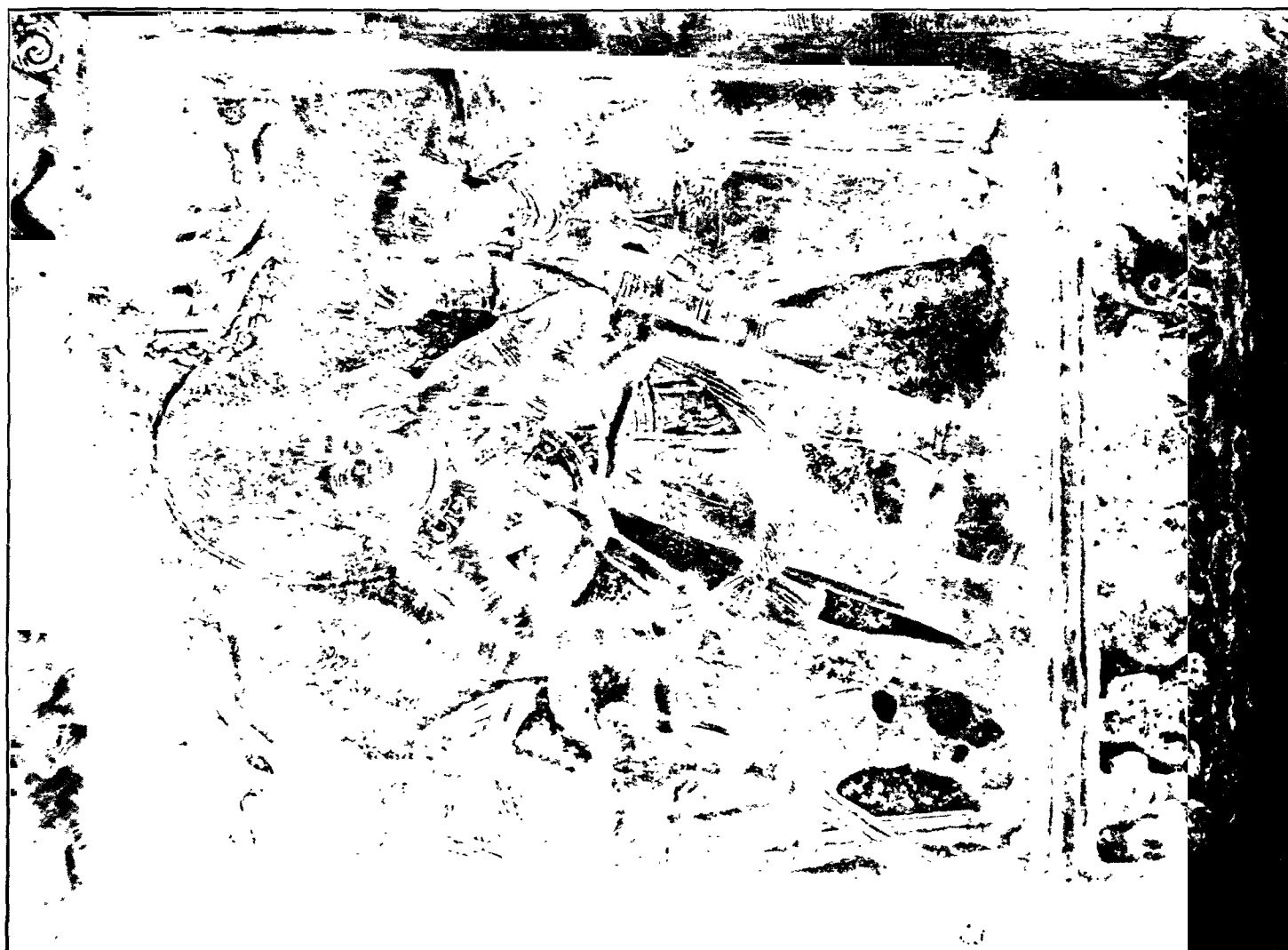


c. DVARAPALA.

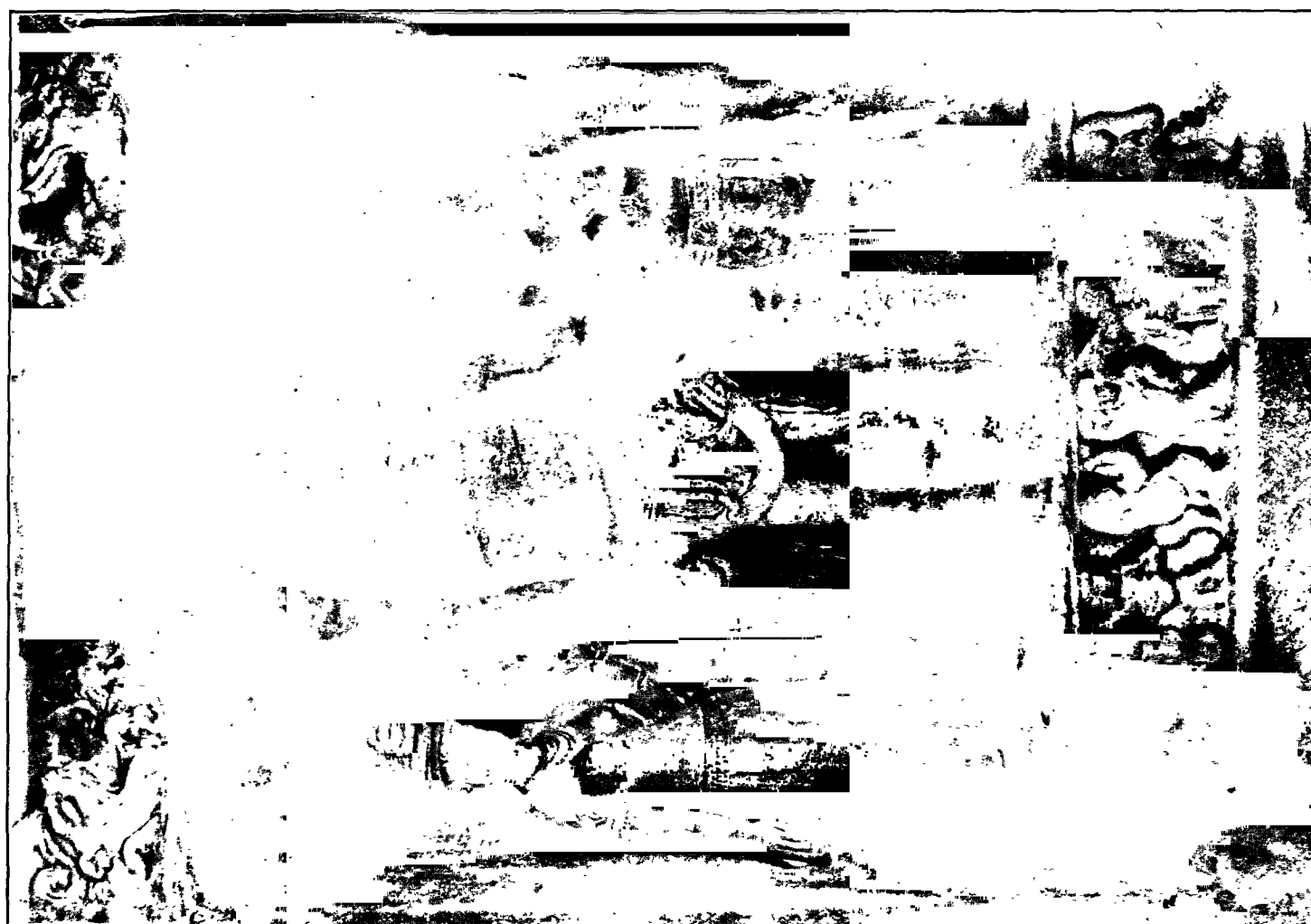




BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE No. I.



(a) ARDDHANARISVARA.



(b) HARIDVARA.



BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. I.

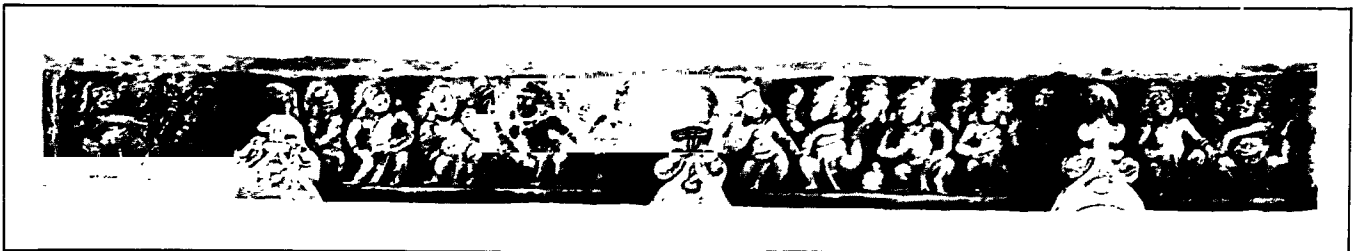
PLATE IV.



*a.* MARRIAGE OF ŚIVA.



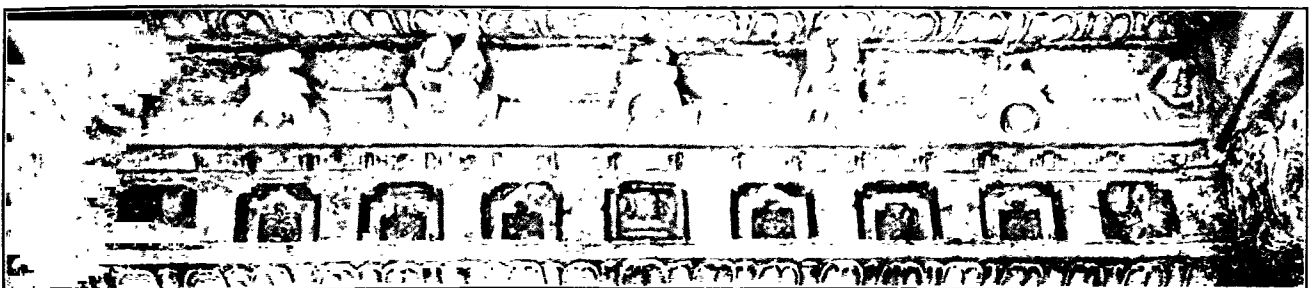
*b.* EROTIC SCENES.



*c.* GAṆAS DANCING.

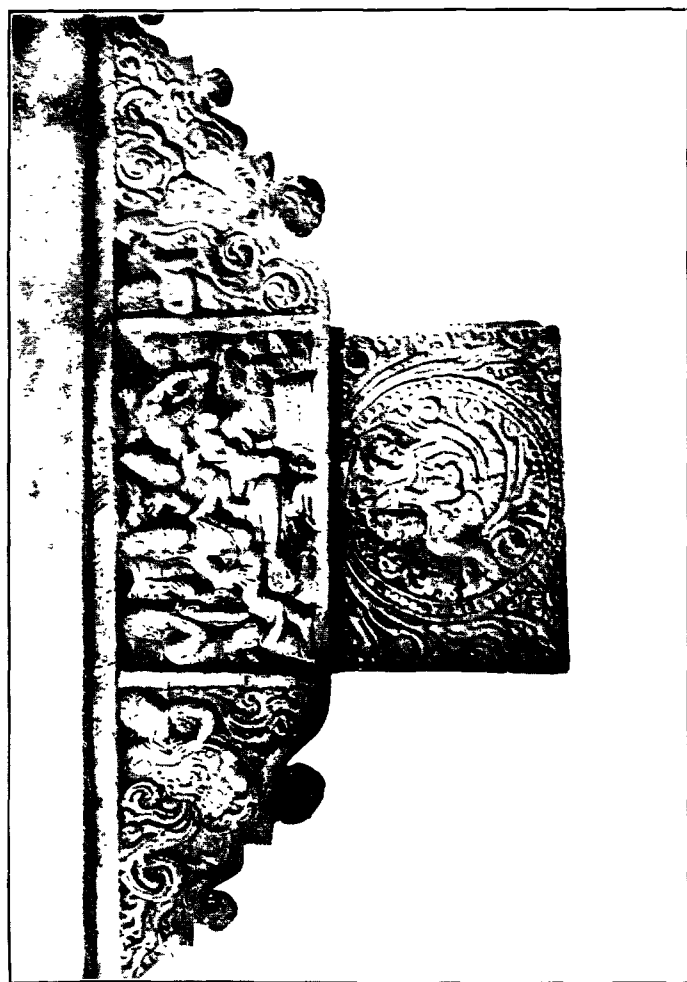


*d.* EROTIC SCENES.

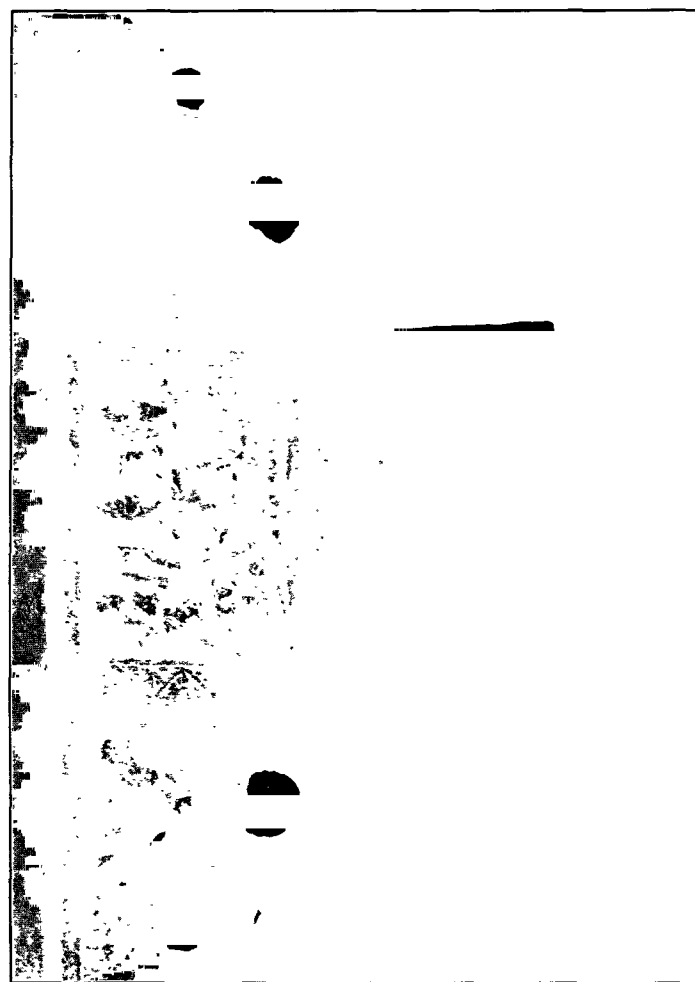


*e.* TEMPLE OF ŚIVA.





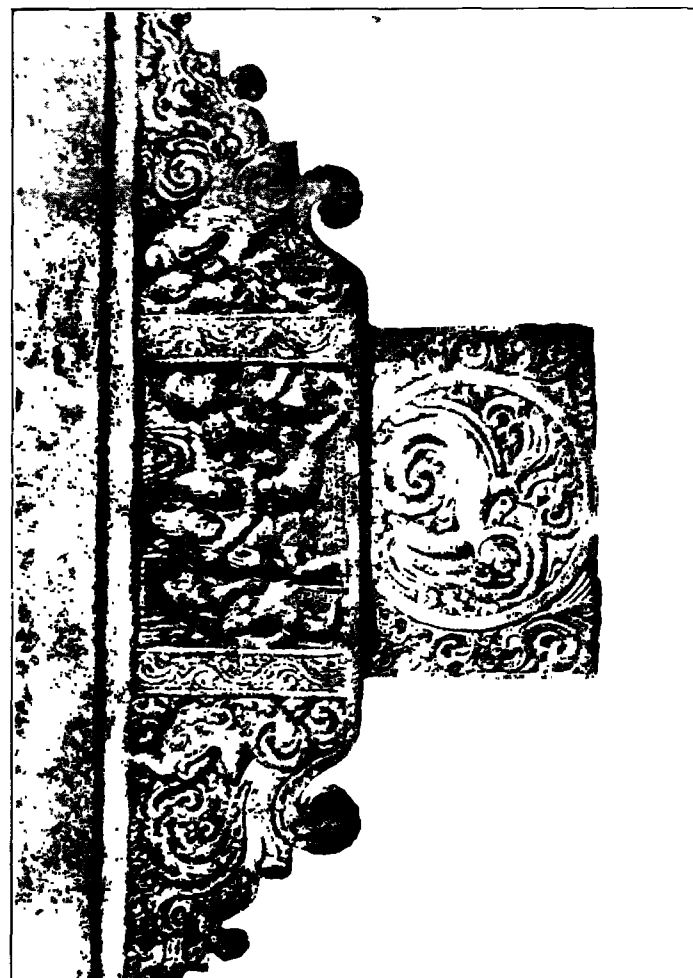
b. ŚIVA AND PĀRVATĪ.



d. VIṢṆU IN VAIKUNṬHA.



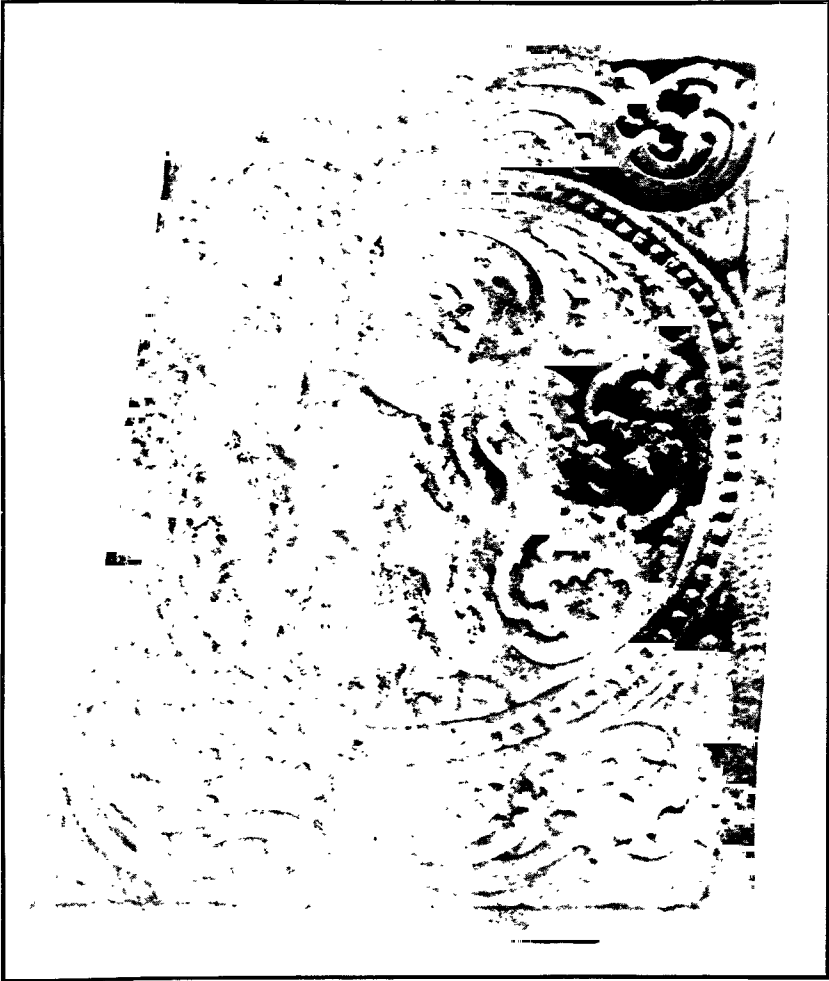
a. ŚIVĪ.



c. ŚIVA AND PĀRVATĪ.



BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. 1.



b.



c.



d.

MEDALLIONS ON FRONT PILLARS OF VERANDAH.

a.



e.





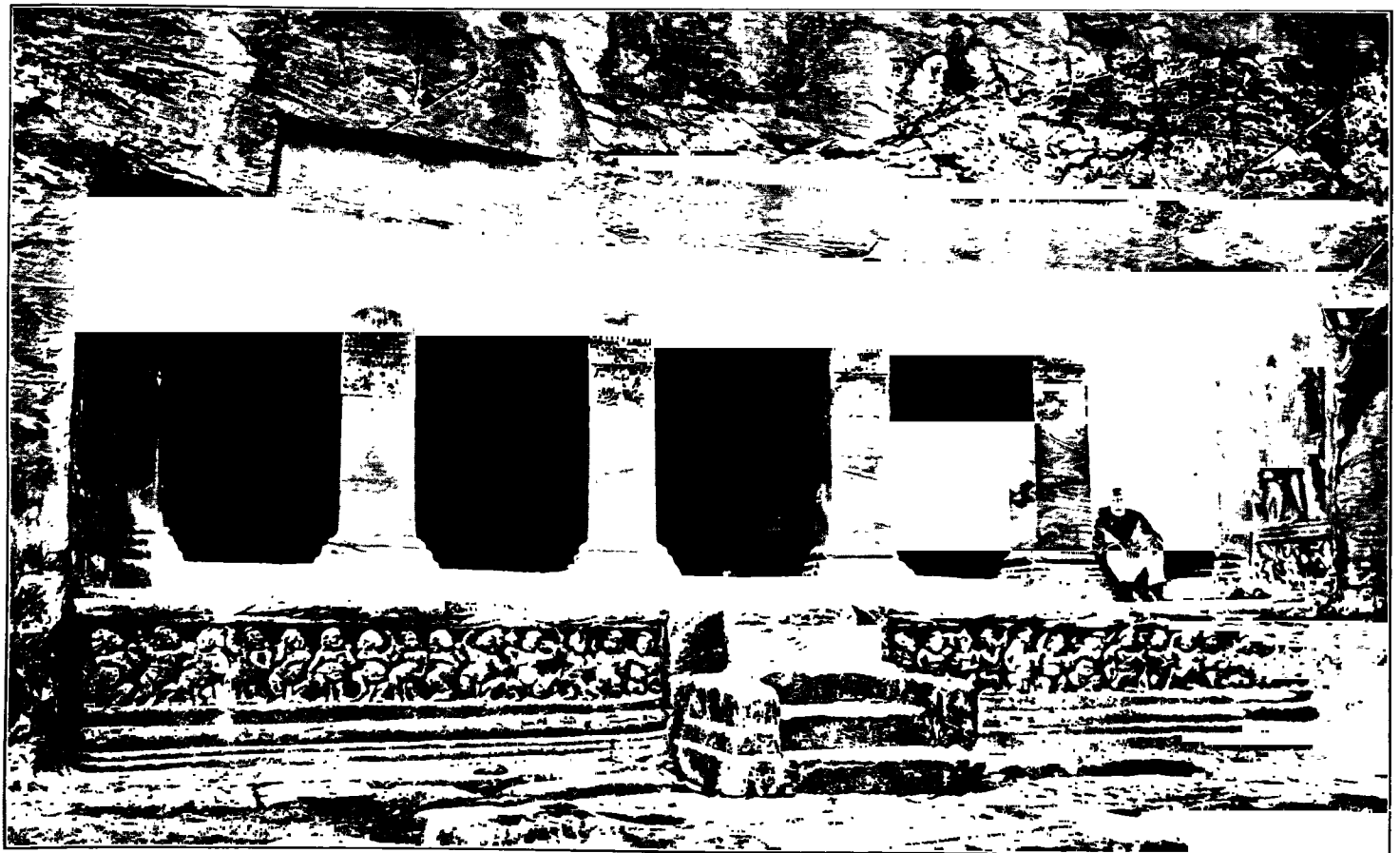
BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. II.



a.



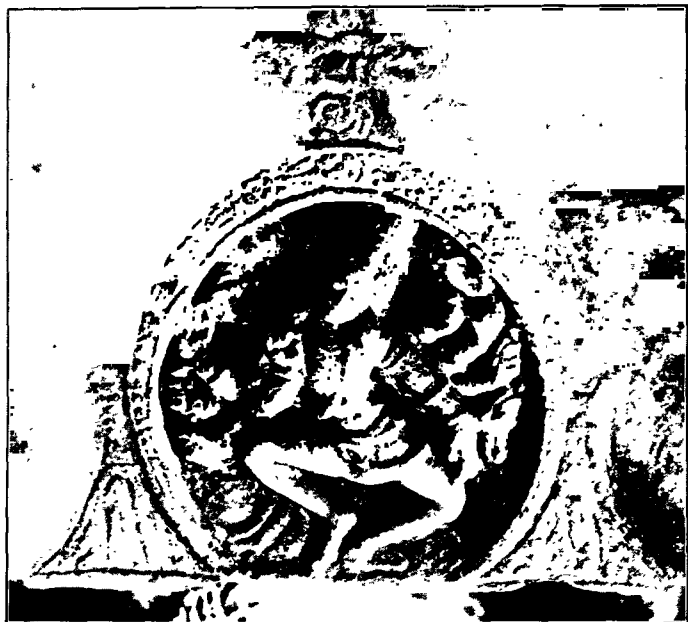
a. FRIEZE OF GANAS.



b. FRONT VIEW.



BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. II.



1. SIVA DANCING.



2. VISHNU ON GARUDA.



a. CHAITYA WINDOWS.

b. DVĀRAPĀLA.



BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. II.



a. TRIVIKRAMA.



b. VARAHA.





*b. KĀMA AND RATIL.*



*d. VIṢṆU IN VAIRUṆṬHA.*



*a. ŚIVA AND PĀRVATĪ.*



*c. ŚIV.*





BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE No. II.



*a.* THE EARTH GODDESS APPEALING TO VISHNU.



*b.* INDRA ENTERING THE COURT OF BALI.



*c.* THE DEPUTATION OF GODS TO SRI AND THE KILLING OF THE BUFFALO DEMON.



*d.* THE CHURNING OF THE OCEAN.



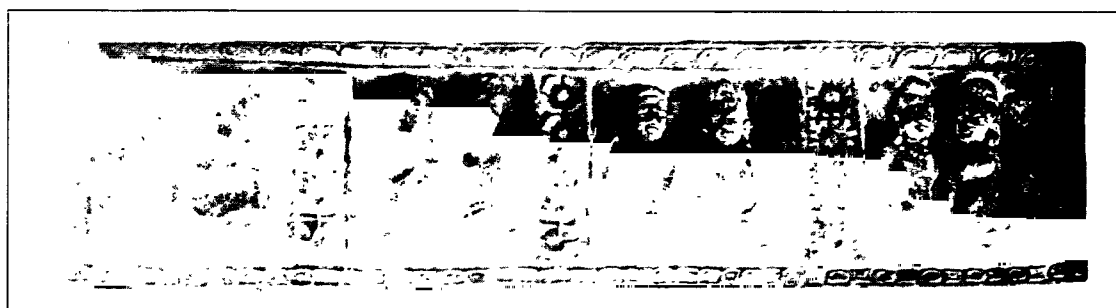
*e.* THE FINAL DEFEAT OF THE ASURAS AFTER THE CHURNING OF THE OCEAN



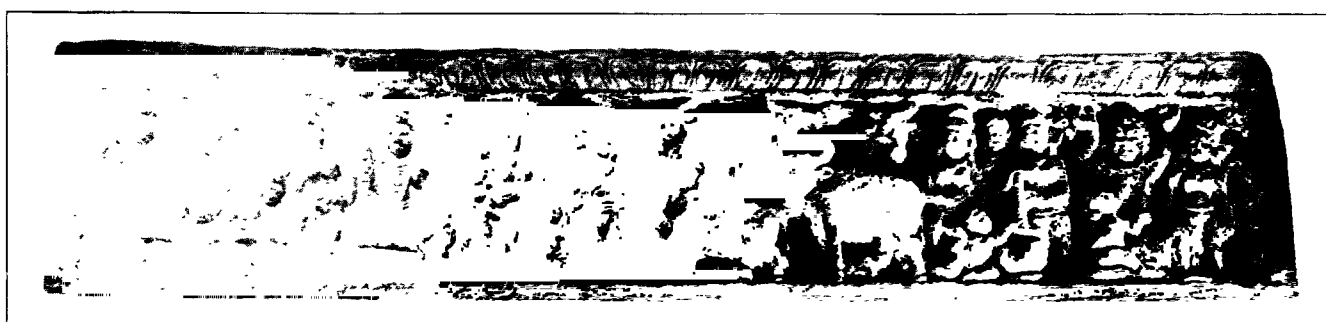
BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. II.



*a.* VISHNU IN VAIKUNTHA RECEIVING THE EARTH GODDESS AND HIS EXIT FROM VAIKUNTHA.



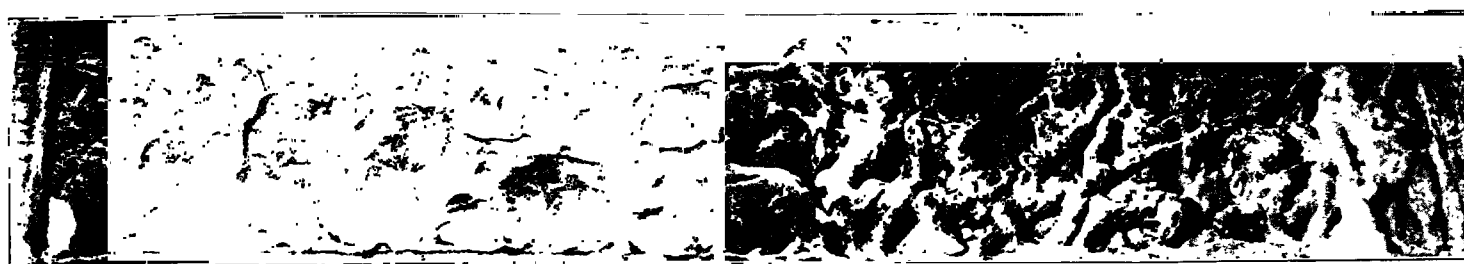
*b.* EROTIC SCENES.



*b.* 1. BIRTH OF KRISHNA. 2. KRISHNA AND BALARAMA IN GOKULA. 3. KRISHNA STEALING BUTTER AND. 4. THE DEATH OF PUTANA.



*c.* 1. THE UPROOTING OF THE YAMAL-ARIJUNA TREES. 2. THE INCIDENT OF THE CART. 3. THE KILLING OF VATSA, ARISHTA, DHENUKA AND 4. THE SUBMISSION OF KĀLIYA.



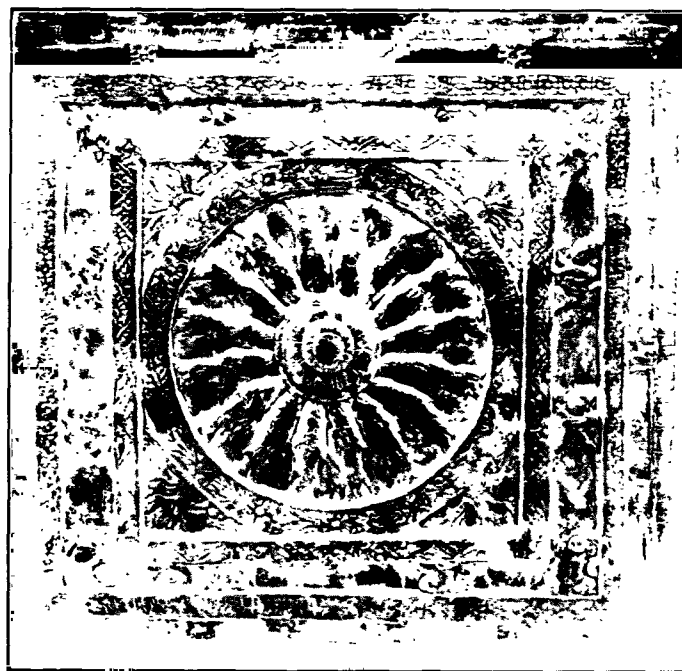
*d.* 1. THE LIFTING OF MOUNT GOVARDHANA AND. 2. THE KILLING OF MUSHTIKA AND KAMSA'S BROTHERS.



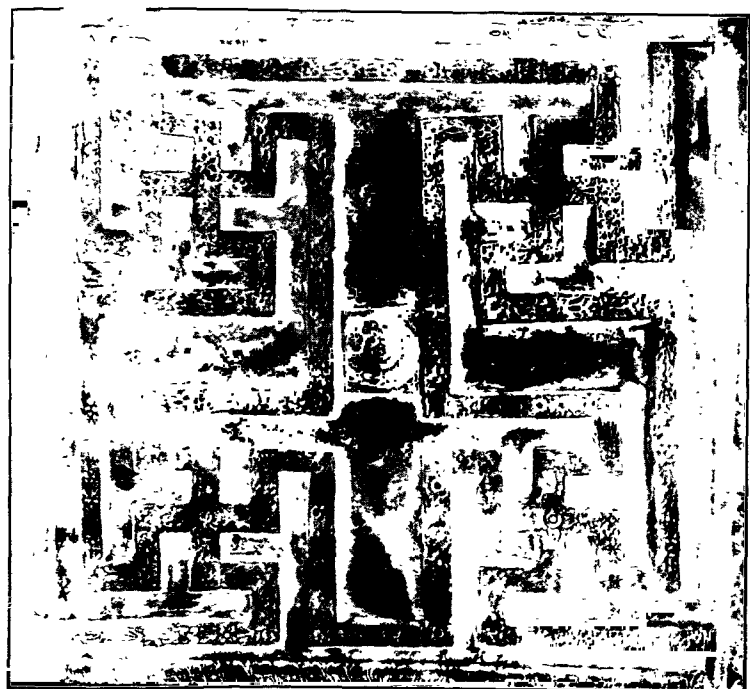
BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. II.



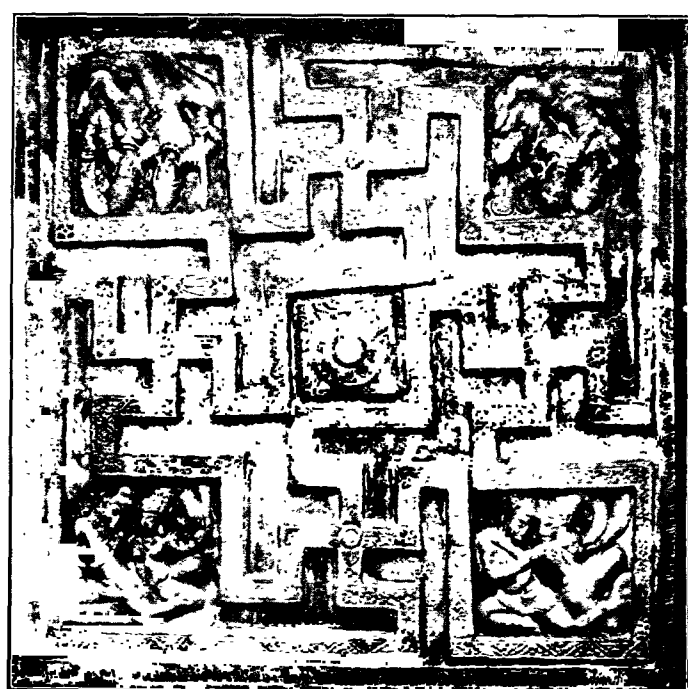
*a.* VISHNU IN TANTRIC CIRCLE.



*b.* THE WHEEL OF VISHNU.



*c.*



*d.*

CEILINGS.





a. BODHISATTVA PADMAPĀNI (2)



b. VIRĀṬA-PURUṢA.





BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. III.



*a.* GARUDA ON CORNICE.

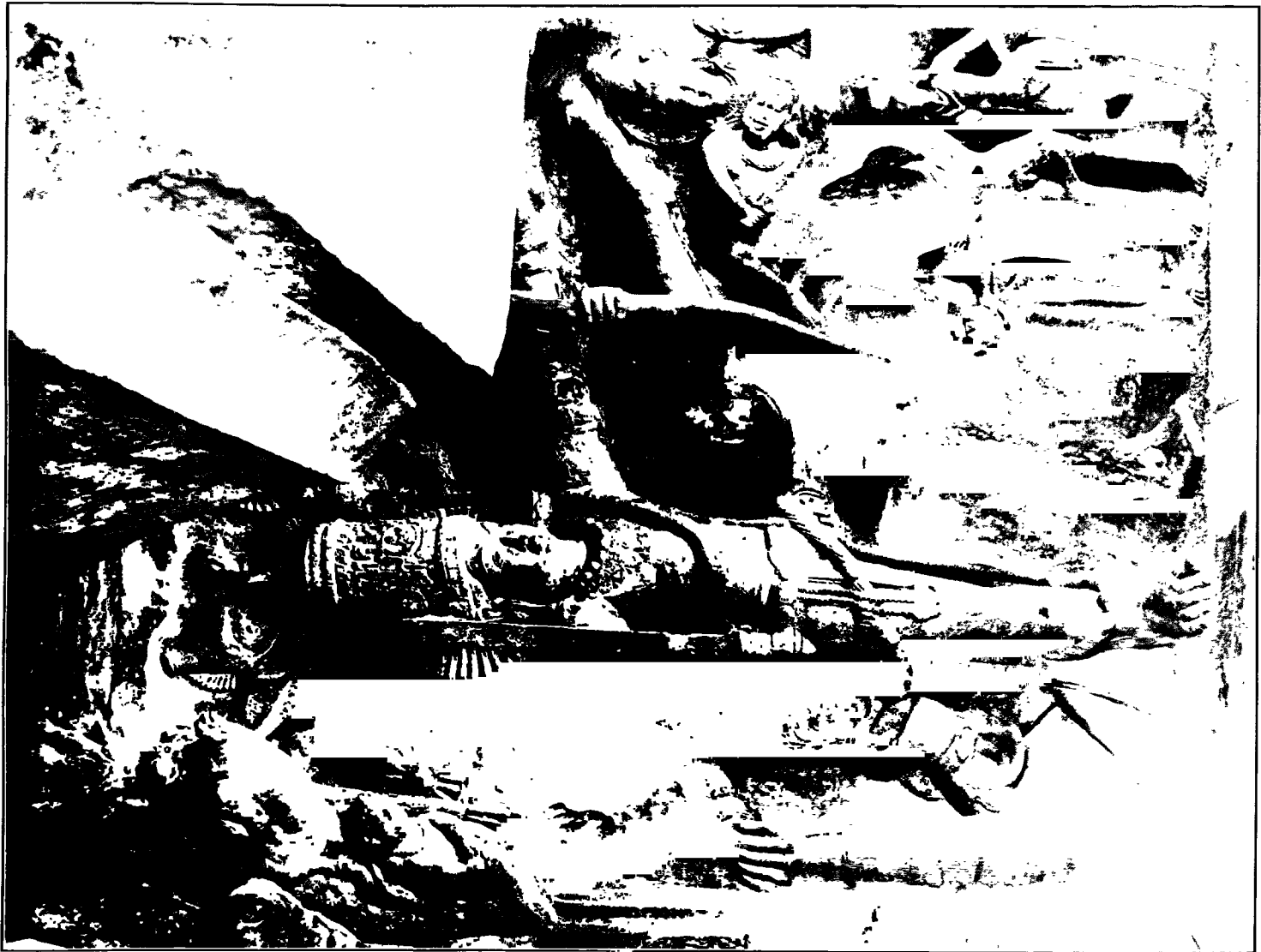


*b.* FRONT VIEW.





b. TRIVIKRAMA - SIDE VIEW.



a. TRIVIKRAMA - FRONT VIEW.



BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. III.



*a.* VISHNU ON ANANTA.



*b.* VARAHA.



BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. III.



" NARASIMHA.



" HARIDVARA.

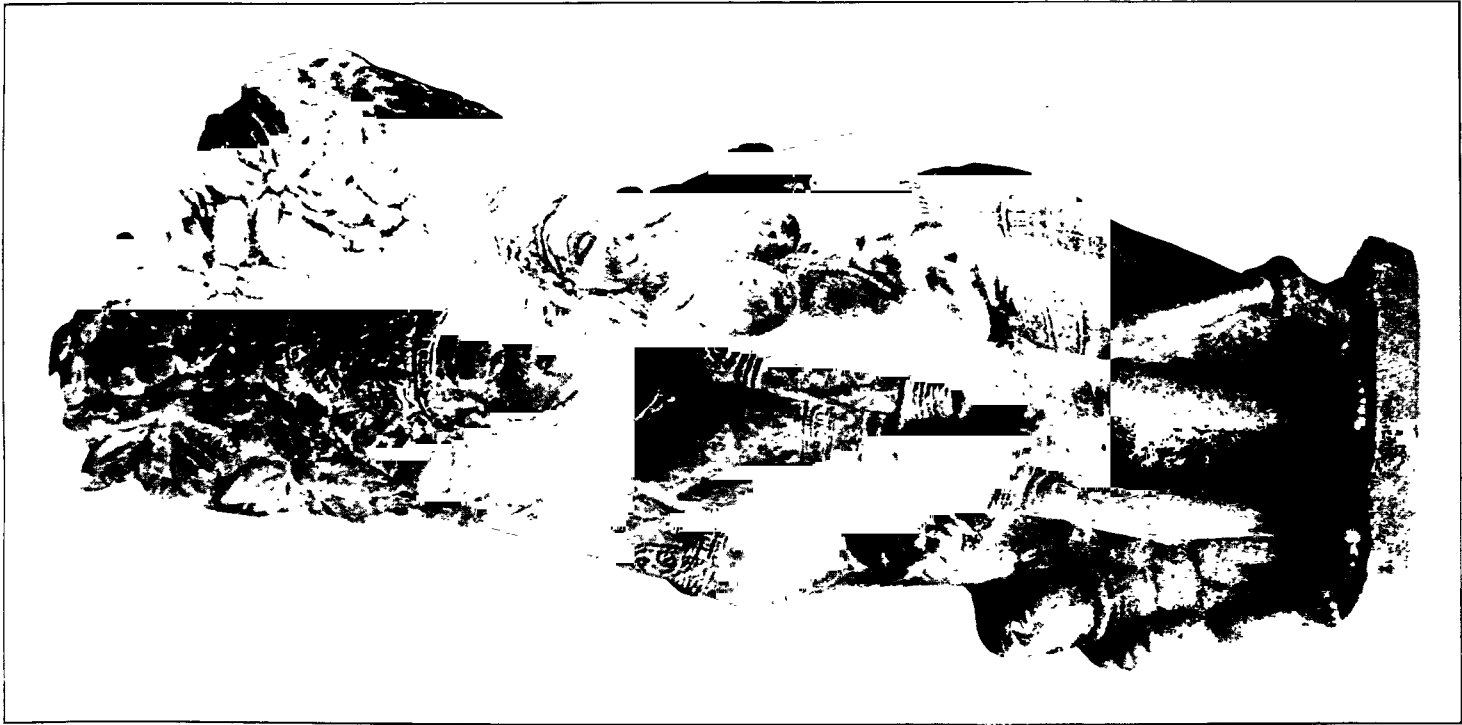




BASRELIEF OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. III.

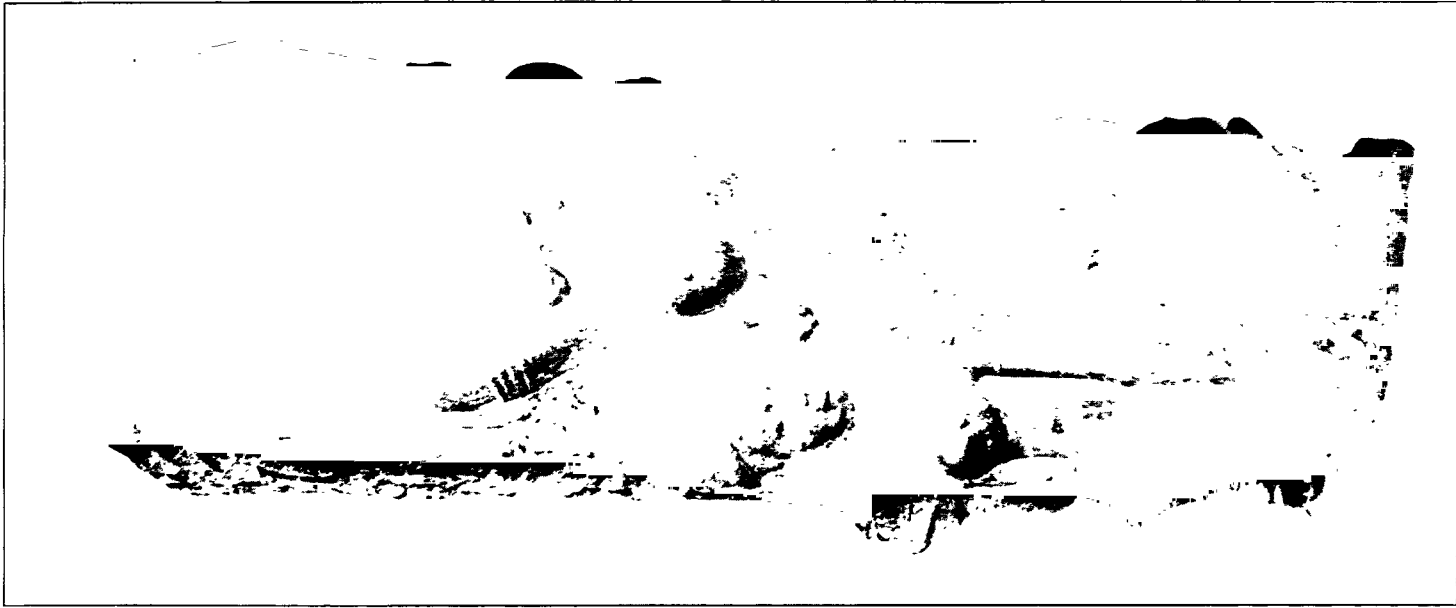


a



b

BRACKETS IN FRONT OF VERANDAH.



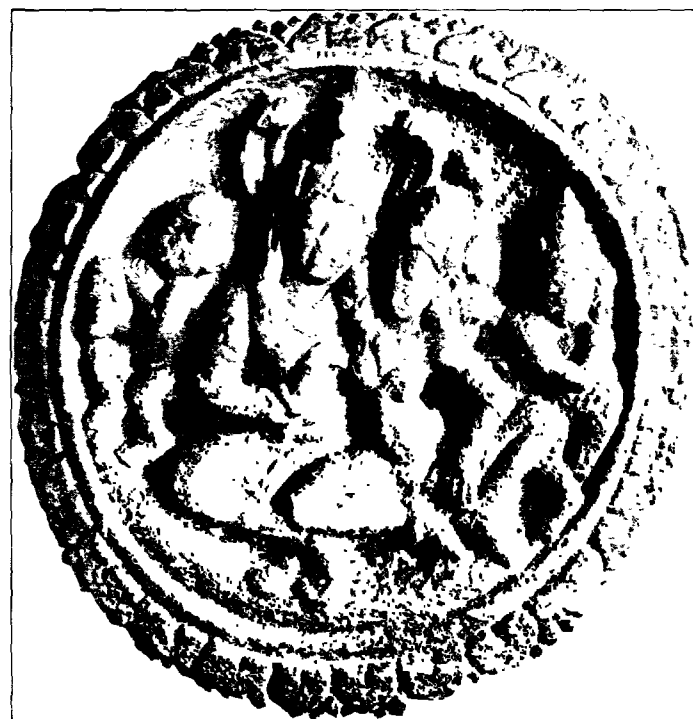
c



BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. III.



*a.*



*b.*



*c.*



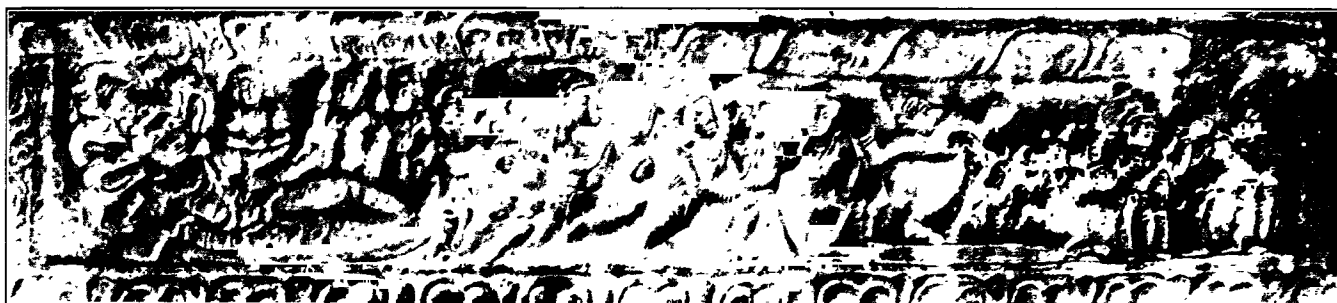
*d.*

MIDDALLIONS ON PILLARS IN THE VERANDAH.



BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. III.

BASRELIEFS.



- (a) 1. VISHNU ON THE OCEAN OF MILK, RECEIVING DEPUTATION OF GODS  
2. DAIITYAS OPPRESSING THE EARTH IN THE SHAPE OF BULLS AND  
3. VISHNU SPEAKING TO THE GODS ABOUT HIS NEXT INCARNATION.



- (b) ASSEMBLY OF THE GODS ON THE SHORES OF THE OCEAN OF MILK.



- (c) 1. THE GODS FAILING TO LIFT MANDARA AND 2. THE GODS FAILING TO CHURN THE OCEAN WITHOUT SUPPORT.



- (d) THE CHURNING OF THE OCEAN.



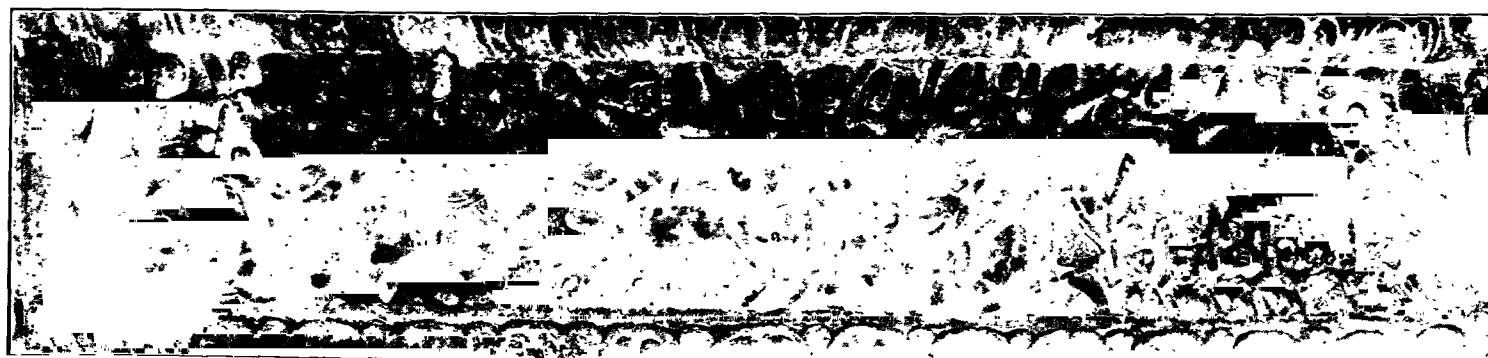
BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. III.  
BASRELIEFS.



*a.* GARUDA ATTACKING THE GODS PROTECTING THE NECTAR.



*b.* 1. GARUDA'S VICTORY OVER THE GODS AND (2) GARUDA CARRYING OFF THE NECTAR



*c.* THE FINAL DEFEAT OF THE DAITYAS AFTER THE CHURNING OF THE OCEAN.



*d.* 1. PARJĀTA TREE PLANTED IN  
THE GARDEN OF SATYABHĀMA.

2 KRISHNA CARRYING  
PARJĀTA TREE  
TO DVĀRAKĀ.

3. FIGHT BETWEEN  
KRISHNA AND THE  
GODS LED BY  
INDRA.

PARJĀTAHARANA.

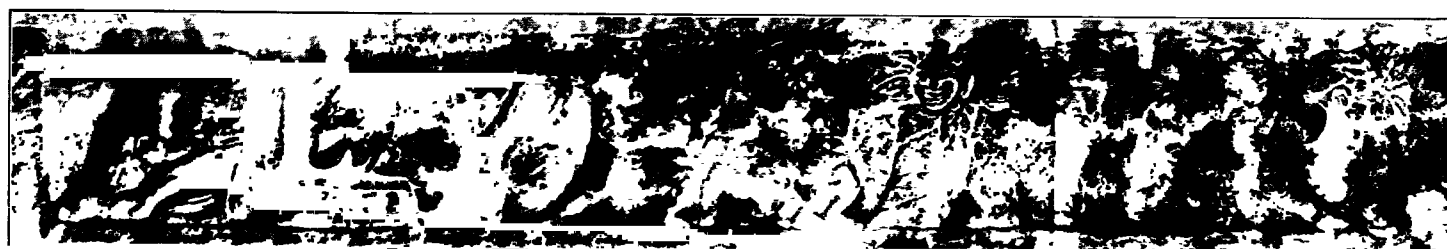




BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. III.  
BASRELIEFS.



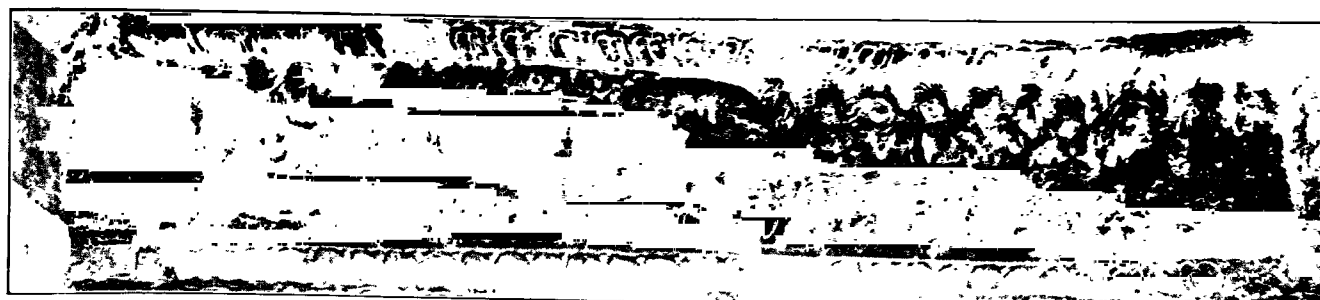
*a.* 1. SUBHADRAHARANA, 2. ŚRĪ AND 3. HIRANYAKASIPU-VADHA.



*b.* 1. DEATH OF PŪTANĀ 2. INCIDENT OF THE CART 3. KILLING OF VATSA 4. UPROOTING OF YAMALĀRRIJUNA TREES  
AND 5. THE KILLING OF DHENŪKA.



*c.* 1. KAMSA'S VISIT TO VASUDEVA AND DEVAKĪ IN PRISON 2. KAMSA'S ATTENDANTS KILLING  
KRISHNA'S ELDER SISTER.



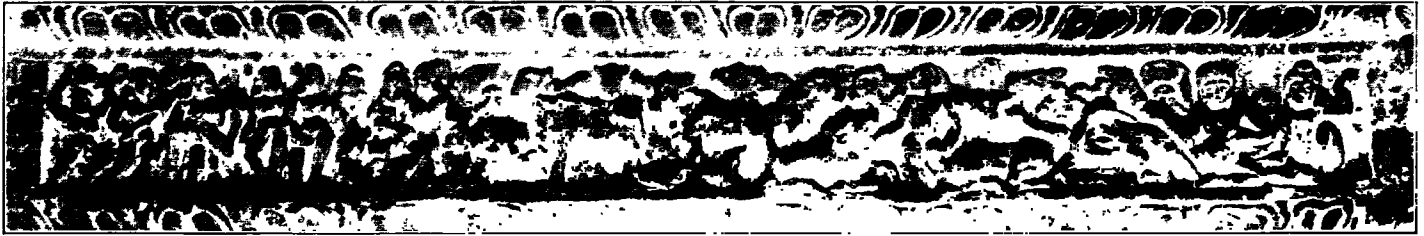
*d.* 1. BIRTH OF KRISHNA AND 2. HIS TRANSFER TO GOKULA.

KRISHNA CHARITRA



BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI CAVE No. III.  
BASRELIEFS.

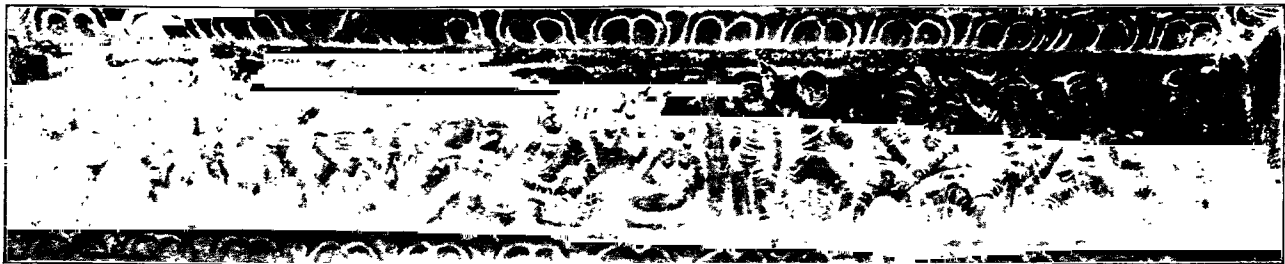
PLATE XXV.



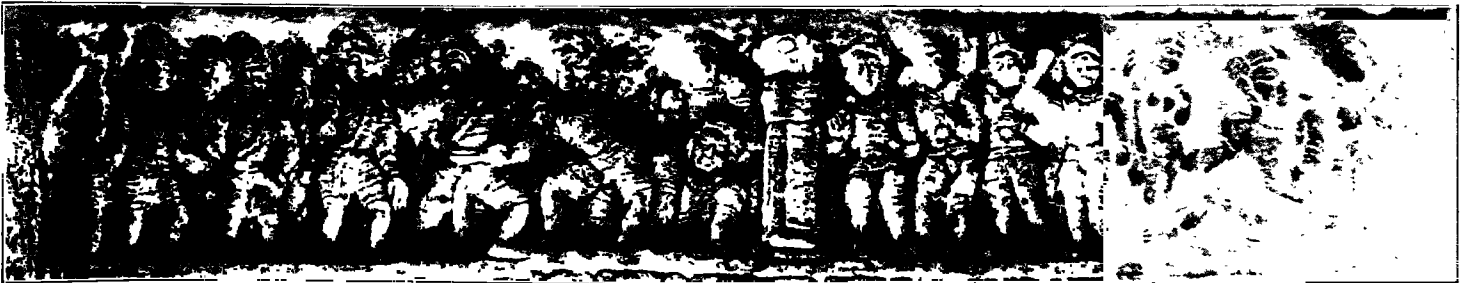
a. MOCK CORONATION OF KRISHNA AND THE TENDING OF CATTLE IN VRAJA.



b. 1. THE LIFTING OF GOVARDHANA 2. KILLING OF DHENŪKA AND 3. KŪVALAYĀPIDA.



c. 1. KĀLIYA-DAMANA AND 2. THE KILLING OF MUSHTIKA AND CHĀNŪRA.



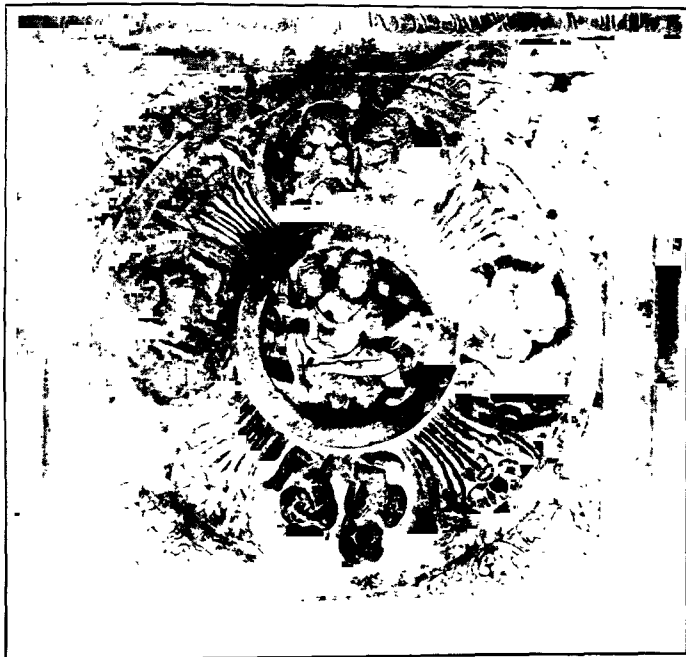
d. 1. KRISHNA AND BALARĀMA ENTERING THE WRESTLING ARENA IN MATHURĀ 2. THE FIGHT WITH THE MALLAS OF KAMSA  
AND 3. KAMSA DEPUTING HIS MALLAS TO ASSASSINATE KRISHNA AND BALARĀMA  
KRISHNA CHARITRA.



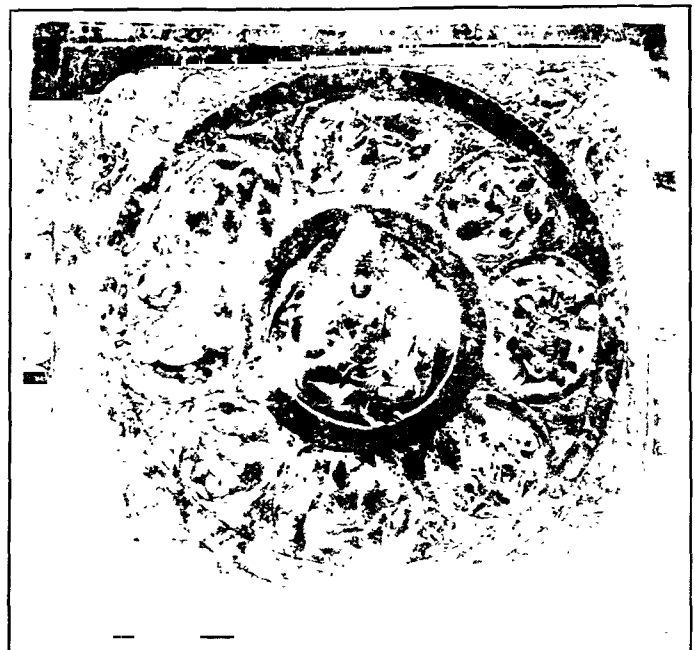
BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. III.



*a.*



*b.*



*c.*

CEILINGS.



BASRELIEFS OF BADAMI  
CAVE NO. III.



a.



b.



c.

CEILINGS







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